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WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOLUME 97

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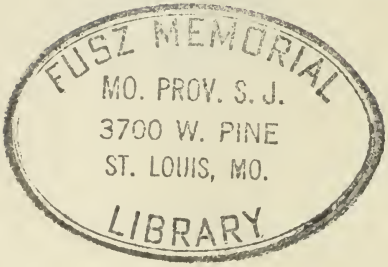

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

WINTER 1968

Volume 97 Number 1

INTRODUCTION

The future of Fordham University looks to "an educational revolution whose excitement and potential are unlimited." Fordham's future, however, has its groundwork in the thought and energy of many educators who worked and taught there. **Francis X. Curran, S.J.**, a professor of history at Fordham and author of *Major Trends in American Church History*, traces one of Fordham's difficult periods when Archbishop John Hughes was at loggerheads with the New York Jesuits.

In the Fall of 1967, the Buffalo Province closed its novitiate, Bellarmine College, at Plattsburgh, New York. We commemorate the closing of this house, which foreshadowed the dissolution of the Buffalo Province and its re-unification into the new New York Province, by printing a lecture, delivered in 1958 at Bellarmine College, by **James Brodrick, S.J.**, author of *The Origin of the Jesuits, The Progress of the Jesuits*, and *Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar.*

Fr. Arrupe's letter on Jesuits and social justice received considerable attention in South America.

Charles P. Costello, S.J., the rector of Loyola High School, Towson, Maryland, shares his experiences of a recent trip to various Jesuit high schools in India.

Sister Maura, S.S.N.D., a poet and professor of English at Notre Dame College of Maryland; **Edwin D. Cuffe, S.J.**, a professor of English at Fordham; and **G. Michael McCrossin, S.J.**, a graduate student in theology at the University of Chicago, review John L'Heureux's latest book, *Picnic in Babylon*, an autobiography of four years at Woodstock.

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WOODSTOCK LETTERS solicits manuscripts from all Jesuits on all topics of particular interest to fellow Jesuits: Ignatian spirituality, the activities of our various apostolates, problems facing the modern Society, and the history of the Society, particularly in the United States and its missions. In general it is our policy to publish major obituary articles on men whose work would be of interest to the whole assistancy.

Letters of comment and criticism will be welcomed for the Readers' Forum.

Manuscripts, preferably the original copy,. should be double-spaced with ample margins. Whenever possible, contributors of articles on Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit history should follow the stylistic norms of the Institute of Jesuit Sources. These are most conveniently found in Supplementary Notes B and C and in the list of abbreviations in Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. W. J. Young (Chicago, 1964), pp. 609–16.

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ARCHBISHOP HUGHES AND THE JESUITS

Fordham's prologue

FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S.J.

In 1845, the Province of France agreed to transfer its Kentucky mission to New York City. At the same time, it agreed to take control of (the then) St. John's College, the present Fordham University. A formal agreement was drawn up, but serious differences developed over what such "control" meant both concerning St. John's and various parishes in New York City. This article deals with the ownership of Fordham University and the corresponding autonomy of the parishes.

ON JANUARY 6, 1856, Fr. John Baptist Hus wrote to inform the Jesuit general, Peter Beckx, that he had arrived in New York City and taken up his office as superior general of the New York-Canada Mission.[1] Hus had been in New York before. When Clement Boulanger, his predecessor as superior general, had come to the United States as Visitor to the North American missions of the Province of France in 1845, Hus had accompanied him as his socius. He had been present at the meetings during which Boulanger

[1] Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (hereafter ArchRSJ), Hus to Beckx, Jan. 6, 1856. Hus' appointment to office dated from Nov. 28, 1855; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae, 1856,* p. 81. He had been in New York at least since Dec. 20, 1855, when he first assembled his consultors; Archives of the New York Province (hereafter NYPA), Acta consultationum Superioris Missionis Neo-Eboracensis-Canadensis, Dec. 20, 1855.

and John Hughes, then Bishop of New York, had negotiated the terms of the transfer of the Kentucky Mission of the Jesuits to the diocese of New York.[2] Hus had been summoned to his new post from the superiorship of the Jesuit mission of Cayenne in South America.[3]

When he arrived in New York, Hus found that the Jesuits were embroiled in a conflict with Archbishop Hughes. This dispute was to persist throughout Hus' period in office. The main sources of Jesuit discontent were mentioned in Hus' letter to the general. Apparently he had entered office with instructions to do what he could to remove these sources of irritation.[4]

The first problem was embedded in the convention signed November 24, 1845, between Bishop Hughes and Boulanger. According to the ninth and final clause of that contract, it was agreed that if the Jesuits withdrew from the diocese they were to restore the title of St. John's College at Fordham to the Bishop of New York.[5] Over the course of the ensuing years, the Jesuits found this provision for reversion a cramping clause. While the clause was not mentioned in the deed of sale of St. John's College, and while the Jesuits were convinced that the proviso, absolutely without legal effect, also had no moral effect, they wanted the clause either revoked or given an interpretation by the Archbishop which would permit them freely to develop the college and, if advisable, sell or mortgage part of its lands.

The second point of contention was the ownership of the Church of St. Francis Xavier on 16th Street in New York City. Before construction of that church had begun in 1850, Archbishop Hughes

[2] See the present writer's "The Jesuits in Kentucky, 1831-1846", *Mid-America* 35 (1953) 242-243.

[3] He had held this post since 1852; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae, 1855*, p. 83.

[4] ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Oct. 13, 1858. Thomas Legouais, S.J., had been with the Jesuit mission in Kentucky and later in New York from the earliest days. Before the end of his term of office, Boulanger had received similar instructions; NYPA, Acta consult., Sept. 9, 1855.

[5] The original of this contract is in NYPA. The ninth clause is as follows: "Dans le cas où les Pères Jesuites quitteront l'etablissement de New-York par le fait de leur propre volonté la propriété reviendroit à Monseigneur l'Évêque, qui devroit rendre aux Pères les sommes dejà payées sur leur dette de quarante mille dollars."

had demanded and received its legal title from the Jesuits. The fathers were dissatisfied by this development and continually sought to have the title restored to the Society of Jesus. The third major source of Jesuit discontent was their belief that the Archbishop had failed to implement the sixth clause of the contract of 1845.[6] The Archbishop had promised to give the Jesuits a church and residence in New York City. He had, according to the Jesuit viewpoint, never carried out his obligation.

Property at Fordham

The incident which set off the long and bitter dispute was occasioned by the property at Fordham. When, in 1846, the Jesuits took over St. John's College, they also assumed the direction of the diocesan seminary of St. Joseph's. Both these institutions were located on the land Bishop Hughes had purchased in 1839 in the village of Fordham. By the deed of sale of St. John's College of July 15, 1846, between eight and nine acres of the original purchase were reserved as the property of the seminary: the boundaries of this seminary land were written into the deed. But the boundary lines were not marked.

In the summer of 1855, Archbishop Hughes removed the Jesuits from the seminary and substituted his own secular clergy. Shortly thereafter, the boundary between the seminary and college land was surveyed.[7] The results were a bit surprising. Indeed, the boundary line cut immediately in front of the house on the seminary grounds occupied by the Archbishop's sister and her husband. If Mrs. Rodrigue stepped out on her front stoop, she trespassed on the property of St. John's College. According to the rector of St. John's College, the Archbishop heard the news with extreme bitterness and at once declared that the deed of 1846 was in error. The

[6] The sixth clause is as follows: "Monseigneur a bien voulu promettre qu'il donnera à la Compagnie une église avec une maison dans New-York aussitôt que les Pères voudront y exercer le S^{t} ministère. Cette église ne sera point paroisse et les Pères n'auront point la charge de Curé. Ils n'y célébreront pas les mariages, enterremens, baptêmes . . . Mais ils prècheront, feront le catéchisme, confesseront, donneront la bénédiction du très S^{t} Sacrament &c . . . recevront le produit de la location des bancs." The dots do not mark elisions; they are in the original.

[7] ArchRSJ, Remigius Tellier, S.J., to Beckx, April 29, 1856. Tellier was Rector of St. John's College, 1854-1860.

Jesuits had no desire to deprive Mrs. Rodrigue of her stoop. They decided to rectify the boundary lines.[8] The superior general, Boulanger, called upon the Archbishop and informed him that the matter would be arranged to his complete satisfaction.[9]

But the Archbishop did not wait for the Jesuits to act. On November 14, 1855, the Board of Trustees of St. John's College convened for a regular meeting. When the college had been incorporated before the arrival of the Jesuits, its Board of Trustees was composed of five secular clerics and four laymen. It was planned that these trustees should gradually resign and be replaced by Jesuits. In 1855, four non-Jesuits still remained on the Board. They were Fr. William Starrs, vicar general of the Archdiocese, Mr. Thomas James Glover, the Archbishop's lawyer, Mr. Terence Donnelly and Mr. Peter Hargous, president of the Board.

At the meeting, Glover, declaring that he was acting at the request of the Archbishop, proposed the following resolution:

> That a committee be appointed with the power to appoint a surveyor in concert with the Most Rev. Archbishop to survey the property described in the deed from the Archbishop to St. John's College and to ascertain & agree upon the true description thereof according to the intentions of the parties and that the president and Secretary be authorized to affix the Corporate Seal to such document as shall be agreed upon between the Archbishop and said Committee.[10]

A committee was appointed, consisting of Fr. John Blettner and Messrs. Hargous and Donnelly.

The Jesuits were greatly disquieted by this demarche of the Archbishop. They believed that Hughes should have applied for a rectification of the boundary line not to the Board of Trustees, created and maintained to satisfy the laws of incorporation, but to the Society of Jesus, the real owner of the property. By this move, it would appear that the Archbishop was calling into question the Jesuit ownership of the College of St. John's.

A memorandum dated December 30, 1855 shows Jesuit thought at that time on the problem of their relations with the Archbishop.[11]

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[8] NYPA, Acta consult., Nov. 15, 1855.

[9] NYPA, Tellier to Hus, April 24, 1856.

[10] Archives of Fordham University (hereafter FUA), Minutes of the Board of Trustees of St. John's College, Nov. 14, 1855.

[11] NYPA, Questions concerning the property at Fordham, Dec. 30, 1855. The

It noted that the Archbishop had failed to implement the sixth clause of the convention of 1845. He had indeed offered a church, but never a house. And the church was so burdened with debts that it had been refused. This offer, in the opinion of the writer of the memorandum, could not be considered the offer of a gift. Instead of giving the Jesuits a church, the Archbishop had deprived them of the title of their own Church of St. Francis Xavier.

The memorandum recalled Bishop Hughes' pastoral letter of February 10, 1847. That letter stated that the Jesuits had received St. John's College as a gift and that they had assumed the debts of the college, which amounted to $40,000. It went on to declare that if the Jesuits did not carry out the terms of the gift the property could be reclaimed by the Bishop of New York. The memorandum reflected the unceasing Jesuit uneasiness about that last statement. It maintained the constant Jesuit contention that the Society had not received the college as a gift, but had purchased it. And the writer declared:

> Now, to my knowledge, (and, I believe, I am well informed about the matter) no mention was ever made of accepting the debts of the College; we never accepted them nor were ever applied to by any creditors of the former owners. We simply consented to pay $40,000, and we paid of that sum 14,000 d., to the Bishop himself, and to no one else.

First attempts at settlement

In the Spring of 1856, Hus, about to leave to inspect the Jesuit houses in Canada, paid a call on Archbishop Hughes.[12] At the meeting, Archbishop Hughes advanced the idea that the difficulty at Fordham could be settled if the Jesuits purchased the seminary buildings. Tellier, the rector of St. John's, who reported this meeting declared that the Archbishop has shown at the meeting his obvious disgust with the Jesuits. He passed on to the Jesuit general Mr. Hargous' advice that the best thing for the Jesuits to do was to give the Archbishop a year's notice and clear out of the diocese. Tellier declared that the conflict in New York was due but to two causes; all the other reasons advanced to explain the trouble were simply pretexts. Archbishop Hughes badly needed more priests. While many vocations came from the Jesuit colleges, the fathers

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author of the memorandum was probably Thomas Legouais.

[12] ArchRSJ, Tellier to Beckx, April 29, 1856.

would not, to the great displeasure of Hughes, turn their colleges into minor seminaries. And the Archbishop has *"un esprit extraordinaire de domination; il a besoin de dominer."*[13] He was enraged by the fact that the Jesuits had a majority on the St. John's Board of Trustees and could thus curb his autocratic rule over that institution.

Soon after Hus had departed for Canada, Archbishop Hughes made a new demarche. His lawyer sent a letter to the rector of St. John's delineating the boundaries desired by the Archbishop and requesting the Jesuits' approval.[14] Tellier immediately informed the superior general in Montreal. In response, Hus instructed Tellier to inform Glover that the Jesuits would willingly make a gift of the desired land to the Archbishop.[15] He further offered to give the prelate a strip of land, suitable for a road across the college property to the land of the seminary.

Before Hughes had transferred the Fordham property to the Jesuits, he had given to the New York and Harlem Rail Road a right of way along the western boundary of the property. This right of way, comprising about eight acres, had isolated a few strips of property to the west of the railroad; it had further cut off access to the seminary from the west. The seminary lands, in the northwestern corner of the original purchase, could then be approached only from the south, and that meant over the college lands. No easement permitting access to the seminary over the college property was written into the deed of sale of 1846; but the practice was allowed to the seminarians and their professors. Several years after the Jesuits took possession of St. John's, the Archbishop had made the chapel of St. Joseph's Seminary a parish church. Consequently, the college lands were now used, not by a handful of seminarians, but by hundreds of parishoners. To get rid of this annoyance, Hus

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[13] It would appear that Tellier's view was just. According to Orestes Brownson, the Archbishop declared: "I will suffer no man in my diocese that I cannot control. I will either put him down, or he shall put me down." And Brownson believed the Archbishop. "The Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D.," *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, Last Series 2 (1874) 84, cited in Henry J. Browne, "Archbishop Hughes and Western Colonization," *Catholic Historical Review*, 36 (1950) 284.

[14] NYPA, Glover to the "Rev. Gent. of St. John's College," March 30, 1856.

[15] NYPA, Hus to Tellier, April 19, 1856.

offered to the Archbishop a strip of land twenty-five feet broad immediately to the east of the railroad. He asked, in exchange, that the prelate pay half the cost of a fence to separate the college lands from the proposed road.

But when Tellier received these instructions, he hesitated to pass them on. Instead, he called together his consultors and discussed the letter with them.[16] They agreed that to offer the Archbishop as a gift what he demanded as his right would only anger Hughes the more. But if the Archbishop could be inflexible, so could the superior general. He instructed Tellier to reassemble the consultors, read them the rebuke in his new letter, and then carry out the instructions in his first letter.[17] Soon thereafter, Tellier reported to Hus that his directions had been fulfilled.[18]

There the matter hung in abeyance for several months. As the regular meeting of the St. John's Board of Trustees approached, Hus drew up his instructions to the Jesuit members of the Board.[19] The fathers were not to consent to a new deed of sale to replace the deed of July 15, 1846. Instead, they were to propose that a codicil be added to the original deed, and that the codicil should state that the Archbishop had requested more land and that the Jesuits had consented. If the Archbishop objected to receiving the land as a gift, the fathers were to propose that an exchange be made. Part of the college lands was used as a farm, connected with the college buildings by a road that ran over the southeast corner of the seminary property. The Jesuit trustees were to propose that the land occupied by this road be exchanged for the land the Archbishop wished to add to the southern boundary of the seminary lands. And the Jesuit trustees were to raise another point. According to the deed of sale of 1846, the Archbishop had transferred to the Jesuits the lands lying west of the railroad. The Archbishop claimed these strips of land. The trustees were to advance the Jesuit claims.

The Board of Trustees met on September 11, 1856. The minutes inform us:

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[16] NYPA, Tellier, to Hus, April 24, 1856.

[17] NYPA, Hus to Tellier, April 20, 1856.

[18] NYPA, Tellier to Hus, May 13, 1856.

[19] NYPA, Hus, Directions to Jesuit Trustees, Sept. 7, 1856; another draft, dated Sept. 10, 1856, gives the same instructions.

On motion of Thos. J. Glover, the committee appointed in the last meeting were called upon to give their report. But the committee from various circumstances, not being prepared to give a report, and not being in number for further action, two new members were proposed, Wm. S. Murphy, as trustee and as member of the committee, in lieu of John Blettner, resigned; and Terence Donnelly as member of the committee in lieu of Thos. Legouais, absent.[20]

The effort of the Archbishop to attain his ends through the Board of Trustees had met a setback. Glover tried to retrieve the situation by a motion that the Board should reconvene within a month. The motion was seconded by Fr. William Gockeln and passed unanimously.[21]

But according to the minute-book of the Board, that meeting was not held. The Board did not meet again until November 7, 1857 when "it was decided by majority of votes that the Committee, who have not yet (been) enabled to report on the matter of the Survey, be declared a standing committee."[22] Glover was conspicuous at this meeting by his absence. He never again appeared, though duly notified each year, at the meetings of the Board. Finally, in 1863, his seat was declared vacant and a successor elected.[23]

Displeasure

The Archbishop was not pleased at this repulse. He angrily told one of the Fordham fathers that the Jesuits were trying to cut off his access to his own seminary, and that he was not going to stand for it, if he had to take the Jesuits into every court in the United States.[24]

Towards the end of 1856, Hus called together his consultors to review the situation and to see what could be done to put an end to the dispute.[25] The fathers consulted were not inconsiderable men: Remigius Tellier, William Stack Murphy, John Larkin and Isidore Daubresse. They agreed that an approach to the Archbishop should be made by the superior general. The approach should not be made

[20] FUA, Minutes of Board, Sept. 11, 1856.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1857.

[23] *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1863.

[24] NYPA, Hus to Tellier, Oct. 29, 1856. The priest to whom the Archbishop spoke was John Larkin, S.J.

[25] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Dec. 3, 1856.

by letter; past experience had taught them that a letter would probably only anger the Archbishop the more, and would remain unanswered. In a personal interview, the superior should bring up the question of the sixth article of the convention of 1845, and note that the Jesuits, through the failure to implement this article, had lost an income that over a decade would have mounted to an appreciable sum. If the Archbishop expressed himself as not bound by the sixth article, he should be asked to agree with the Jesuit contention that they were not bound by the ninth clause.[26]

But if the interview was ever had, it was without success. In the early Spring of 1857, Hus reported to the Jesuit general that the fathers in New York were under heavy pressure.[27] The Jesuit offer to the Archbishop to make him a present of the land he desired or to exchange it for a portion of the seminary land had been met by an angry rejection. *"C'est un caractère inabordable! Il faut que tous plie sous ses voluntés suprêmes."* So desperate did the situation appear that Hus thought it necessary to prepare a statement of the case and send it on to the general, so that it might be presented, if necessity demanded, to the Roman Congregation of the Propaganda, or to the Pope himself.[28]

Since Hus informed the general that the statement had the approval of his consultors, it may be accepted as an official Jesuit view of the controversy. The document declares that Bishop Hughes had purchased the land at Fordham in 1839 for $29,000, and had spent another $10,000 in preparing the buildings there for use as a college. Of the 106 acres, Hughes had disposed of eight, worth $5,000, to the railroad, and had reserved another nine, worth $6,000, for his seminary. The Jesuits had paid him $40,000 for what had cost him $28,000—and Archbishop Hughes had retained the free disposal of the money he had collected for the college.

Jesuit assumption of the burden of the college had brought the prelate a number of advantages, which the document lists.

1. Archbishop Hughes has the title of the founder of the College of St. John's.

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[26] NYPA, Acta consult., Dec. 4, 1856.

[27] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 7, 1857.

[28] ArchRSJ, Hus, Situation materielle des deux Etablissements de la C^{te} de Jésus à New York, March 5, 1857.

2. He has full and free use of the money given for the purpose of assisting the college.

3. He has made a net profit of $12,000.

4. He has an annual income of $2,000—the 5% interest on the mortgage of $40,000 assumed by the Jesuits to pay for the college.

5. He has acquired the benefits of a Catholic college, and none of the worries.

6. He is freed of the tasks of administering the college and recruiting a faculty.

7. He has obtained a substantial number of Jesuit priests to assist in the works of his diocese.

8. The secular priests who constituted the college faculty have been released for service in the diocese.

9. He had secured a trained faculty for his seminary.

10. Other bishops would gladly underwrite the expenses of establishing a Jesuit college in their dioceses. Archbishop Hughes secured the services of the Jesuits without cost to himself,—indeed, at a large profit.

11. And the Archbishop has all these advantages guaranteed, or he recovers full possession of his college, developed and enriched.

Other side of the coin

The statement then looked on the other side of the coin. It found that the Society of Jesus had not profited from the removal of its Kentucky Mission to New York.

1. The Jesuits had, in the service of the archdiocese of New York, used up the financial resources they had brought to New York.

2. They had not been able, during their eleven years in New York, substantially to reduce their debts.

3. They found their work at St. John's College crippled by the cramping clause.

The statement noted that Archbishop Hughes had not carried out his obligation to make the Jesuits a gift of a church and residence in New York City. On the contrary, when the fathers were planning their church on 16th Street, the Archbishop, as a *sine qua non* for his permission to take up a collection in the diocese, had

demanded the title to the church and the land on which it stood. The Jesuits felt constrained to agree. Consequently, the Archbishop now had title to a church worth over $60,000, which had cost him only a permission to take up a collection.

In the Spring of 1857, the Archbishop made another move. In reporting the action to the general, Hus noted that these demarches occured only when the superior general was out of New York City.[29] It had happened under Boulanger. Now, when Hus was in Canada on his regular visitation of the Jesuit houses there, Hughes had sent Glover, his lawyer, to the Rector of Fordham with a new deed, *"avec sommation de l'accepter tel quel."* By letter, Hus had instructed Tellier to reply that he could do nothing in the absence of the Jesuit superior general. On Hus' return to New York, he arranged a meeting with Glover on neutral ground. After keeping Hus waiting an hour, Glover finally appeared, only to put forth the Archbishop's demands *"en termes d'un absolutisme ridicule."* To Hus' representations, Glover answered with disdainful expressions; a dozen times he declared that the Jesuit knew nothing about the management of affairs and that he did not want to discuss the matter with him. Finally, Hus proposed that the Jesuits delegate their lawyer to negotiate with him. Glover agreed *"d'un air triomphant."*

The Jesuits' lawyer was Charles O'Conor, one of the outstanding members of the American bar. He made a careful examination of all the documents and had several conferences with the Archbishop's lawyer. At a conference with O'Conor and Glover, Hus asked O'Conor, who was a personal friend of the Archbishop, to seek means of conciliation and to make suggestions to end the strife. Hus proposed that, if the Archbishop agreed, both parties would accept O'Conor's proposals. Glover expressed the opinion that Archbishop Hughes would accept O'Conor's arbitration.

O'Conor thereupon drew up a statement of the case and appended his suggestions for an amicable and just solution.[30] He found that in the deed of sale of July 15, 1846, the Archbishop had reserved, from his original purchase of 106 acres, only the eight or nine acres for the seminary. No mention had been made of the grant of eight acres to the railroad, nor had the bishop reserved, as

[29] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Aug. 4, 1857.

[30] NYPA, O'Conor, Statement of case, May 7, 1857.

he claimed, the strips of land west of the railroad, nor had a right of way over the college lands to the seminary been stipulated. Now it was claimed that there were several errors in the deed, due either to the surveyor or the scribe. The southern boundary of the seminary land should have been drawn forty links (twenty-five feet) further south; the land west of the railroad and a right of way over the college lands should have been reserved.

O'Conor's opinion was that, if the matter were taken to the civil courts, the decision would give the Archbishop the additional forty links and the right of way, but would confirm the Jesuits' title to the land west of the railroad. O'Conor proposed that, since a public road had recently been constructed west of the railroad, an access to the seminary over the railroad be constructed, and the Archbishop surrender the claim to a right of way over the college lands. He further proposed that the Jesuits deed over to the prelate the additional forty links south of the seminary and the lands west of the railroad, while they received from the Archbishop that portion of the seminary land occupied by their farm road.

Two reservations

Hus, once more in Canada, expressed his willingness to accept O'Conor's solution.[31] He made but two reservations: he would prefer to have the changes effected, not by a new deed, but by a codicil to the original deed; and he would like something done about the fancy-fence which the railroad, in exchange for its right of way, had agreed to build, but had failed to do so.

O'Conor had not sent a copy of his proposals to the Archbishop or his lawyer. As he informed Tellier, he had not been established as umpire, nor was he Hughes' legal adviser.[32] He had received a request from Glover for a copy of his statement, and he wanted Tellier's instructions in the matter. The rector of St. John's told O'Conor he might send a copy to the Archbishop's lawyer, with the notation that, since the prelate had not agreed to be bound by O'Conor's decision, neither were the Jesuits.[33] O'Conor sent the desired copy to Glover.

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[31] NYPA, Hus to Tellier, May 15, 1857.

[32] NYPA, O'Conor to Tellier, June 1, 1857.

[33] NYPA, Tellier to O'Conor, June 3, 1857.

The upshot was an uproar. Archbishop Hughes sent a letter to Tellier stating:

I have understood that the Jesuits in my diocese have been making appeals to some of our lay-Catholics in the way of seeking redress or securing sympathy on account of real or imaginary grievances which your Society have had to suffer at my hands. This appeal to the laity is a new feature in our ecclesiastical discipline.[34]

The letter went on to charge that the Jesuits "have selected umpires without my knowledge or consent," and that these umpires have not heard the prelate's side of the case but only "your very absurd and unfounded charges." As a consequence, the lay Catholics must now consider their Archbishop "as a prelate deficient in honor, in veracity, in honesty and in candor." The letter ended with a demand that the Jesuits submit a list of their charges to the Archbishop that he might know of what he was accused and be able to defend himself.

The rector of Xavier also received a letter, requiring him, if the practice were not being followed, to keep separate accounts of all the income and expenditures of the parish church on 16th Street.[35] The Archbishop also demanded a written account of all monies received and disbursed since the date when the church was first planned.

Tellier acknowledged receipt of the Archbishop's letter, and informed him that it had been forwarded to the superior general.[36] The rector of St. John's expressed his grief at the accusations of the Archbishop and declared that he did not know of any basis for the charges. If laymen had been introduced into the dispute, they were first introduced by the Archbishop himself, through the proposal made to the Board of Trustees in November 1855. When the committee demanded by the Archbishop had been selected by the Board, Glover refused to serve on it, alleging that he was Hughes' legal adviser:

That a Trustee of our Board could be at the same time the counsel that might be called upon to uphold interests at variance with our claims appeared again very strange to Father Hus and to us all. . . . It is then, *and then only*, that for the first time we applied to another counsel than to Mr. Glover.

[34] NYPA, Hughes to Tellier, June 24, 1857.

[35] NYPA, Hughes to Michael Driscol, S.J., June 24, 1857.

[36] NYPA, Tellier to Hughes, June 25, 1857.

Only then did the Jesuits apply to a counsel other than Mr. Glover.

No freedom to lie

While this matter was still hanging fire, a delegation of Jesuits from Fordham waited on Hughes to extend the customary annual invitation to preside at the commencement of St. John's College. Judging by the report of a member of the delegation, the interview was stormy.[37] The Archbishop declared that he would accept no more Jesuit invitations. "How *dare* you, continued he, assert that I had *sold* the land to the railroad, and pocketed the money?" He castigated the impudence of Hus "to tell me in my own house that he could cut off all access to my seminary." He said that the Jesuits' freedom of speech did not extend to freedom to lie. He demanded that the Jesuits call together their Board of Trustees. "If I do not succeed [in] convincing you of the injury you have done me, all the world shall know it. You have done your best to *degrade* me."

A few days after this meeting, the Archbishop once more demanded that the Jesuits send him a list of their accusations against him, and summon their Trustees to a meeting at which the Jesuits' lawyer was to be present.[38] "Things cannot remain long in their present position, and the sooner I know the worst that has been said of me by the Jesuits in regard to the relation between them and me the better." Tellier's answer opened with a declaration of sorrow that the Archbishop had been put to the trouble of a second communication.[39] He informed the prelate that Fr. Hus was still absent, but would take care of the matter on his return in the near future. The letter ended with a repetition of the invitation to preside at the college commencement.

But the Archbishop was not willing to wait. He demanded that Hargous, the lay president of the Board of Trustees, call an immediate meeting, and request Charles O'Conor to be present.[40] Undoubtedly, Hargous felt compelled to comply with the Archbishop's demand, and the trustees were notified by letter,—at least,

[37] NYPA, Murphy, Account of the Archbishop's reception of the Jesuits, July 9, 1857.

[38] NYPA, Hughes to Tellier, July 12, 1857.

[39] NYPA, Tellier to Hughes, July 13, 1857.

[40] NYPA, Tellier to Hus, July 21, 1857.

some of them. The rector of St. John's was surprised that of the three Jesuit trustees at the college, only William Murphy received a notification; neither he nor William Gockeln received summonses to the meeting. From the silence of the minute book of the Board of Trustees, it appears that this meeting was not held.[41] Again frustrated in his attempt to obtain his desires through the Board of Trustees, the Archbishop again tried a step that had previously failed. Once more, through his lawyer, he sent to the Jesuits a new deed of transfer of St. John's to replace the original deed of 1846.[42]

A day or two after this last move of the Archbishop, the superior general returned to New York. Immediately he assembled his consultors to consider the situation.[43] Since the Archbishop's demand for a list of the complaints against him could no longer be ignored in the face of his repeated demands, it was decided to send him such a list. Several drafts were made before agreement among the consultors was reached.[44] Nor was unanimity reached. Legouais refused to approve the draft which was sent to the Archbishop; he agreed with every statement of fact, but insisted that words used were too strong.[45]

Hus sums up his case

On August 17, 1857, the superior general sent a letter to the Archbishop embodying the Jesuits' complaints.[46] Hus denied that the Jesuits had introduced innovations into ecclesiastical discipline, and noted that they had consulted a lawyer, professionally bound to secrecy, only after the Archbishop had given them the example. He then listed the complaints.

1. Without any forewarning, the Archbishop had had introduced at a meeting of the St. John's Board of Trustees a motion to deprive the true owners of the land of some of their property, a motion that the Board was incompetent, in point of honor or of conscience, to act upon.

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[41] FUA, Minutes of Board. The Board did not meet until November 10, 1857.

[42] NYPA, Glover to Tellier (?), August 11, 1857.

[43] NYPA, Acta consult., Aug. 13, 1857.

[44] NYPA, Acta consult. Aug. 20, Aug. 26, 1857.

[45] ArchRSJ, Hust to Beckx, Aug. 20, 1857.

[46] ArchRSJ, Hus to Hughes, Aug. 17, 1857. This was the copy Hus sent to the Jesuit general.

2. Ten years after the Archbishop had sold St. John's College on his own terms, he now wanted to nullify his own deed of sale.

3. The Archbishop now advances, as his rights, intentions he kept secret when he sold the college to the Jesuits.

4. The Archbishop wants arbitrarily to deprive the Society of its own property.

5. When St. John's was sold at its full price, it was with the understanding that the Archbishop would see to it that the railroad would fulfill its obligation to construct a fancy-fence between its right of way and the college property. This obligation has not been carried out.

6. The Jesuits purchased the land free of servitudes. It was understood that the seminarians would have right of passage over the college lands. Since then, the college chapel has been made a parish church, and hundreds of people trespass on the college lands.

7. The Jesuits have been unable to get possession of the strips of land they own west of the railroad. The Jesuits protest against the bishop's pastoral letter of February 10, 1847, in which their title of ownership of the college is called into question.

8. The Archbishop has never fulfilled his solemn promise to give the Society the gift of a church and a house in New York City. To serve the prelate and his people, the Jesuits moved here at their own expense. At their own expense, they have trained their men and paid their way from Europe. The Jesuits have carried out their part of the convention of November 24, 1845; the Archbishop has not. To serve the Church of New York, the Jesuits have spent more than $60,000. Though these disbursements were made to serve the Archdiocese of New York, the Archbishop has not borne any of this financial burden.

9. Against all law and equity, the Archbishop exacted from the Jesuits title to possession of the Church of St. Francis Xavier which had been built at Jesuit expense.

10. The Archbishop has restricted the spiritual ministry of the Society, by ordering the fathers not to hear the confessions of men, save in the regular confessionals in their church, which are always beseiged by women.

11. Finally, the Archbishop has ordered the Jesuits to convoke

their Board of Trustees and have their lawyer present. Nor has he given any reason for this unusual proceeding.[47]

Apparently the Jesuits were justified in their belief that it was useless to write letters to the Archbishop. Though he must have received it a day or so after it was despatched on August 17, the Jesuits had received no answer in October[48] or even by the middle of November.[49]

Counter charges

But the Archbishop did answer in November, not by writing to the Jesuits but by sending counter-charges in a letter to be read before the St. John's Board of Trustees.[50] He asserted that misunderstandings have grown out of "an irregular course adopted by the Jesuits themselves, in appealing to third parties." The Archbishop had desired to present his side of the case to the Board, but his request for such an opportunity "has been steadily denied and disregarded." The prelate expressed his opinion that the Jesuits did not deliberately intend to degrade him, but the effects of their actions have been to do just that:

> They had charged him with attempting to abbridge [sic] them of rights which were theirs, and by a process substantially equivalent to fraud. They had charged him with having denied them advantages which he had promised them on their coming to the Diocese. They have dogged his transactions in matters which had occurred before their coming to the diocese in order to find out in what particular they had been defrauded, in reference to many transactions with which they never had, have not now, and never shall have any right whatever to interfere.
>
> On all these points, the undersigned wished to show them, in a private and friendly way, how mistaken and erroneous were the views which they took up and calumniously circulated, more or less, among the Clergy and laity of this Diocese, whilst they carefully concealed from him the process of investigations in which they were engaged.

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[47] This final complaint is disingenuous. Although in his letter to Tellier and, apparently, to Hargous, the Archbishop did not mention the reason why he wanted the Board to meet, it is clear that he intended to appear at the meeting and have the Board listen to his refutation of the charges allegedly brought against him by the Jesuits.

[48] NYPA, Acta consult., Oct. 4, 1857.

[49] ArchRSJ, Hus to Ambrose Rubillon, S.J., Nov. 17, 1857. Rubillon was the French assistant to the Jesuit general.

[50] NYPA, Hughes to Board of Trustees, Nov. 9, 1857.

The Archbishop declared that he did not bring these accusations against all the Jesuits in his diocese, but against their officials and superiors:

> The undersigned is prepared to prove that the Jesuits are unwarranted by truth, unwarranted by justice, unwarranted by right, whether by positive agreement or otherwise, in every calumnious charge they have made against the Archbishop.

The Archbishop then requested the Board of Trustees to appoint some of their members to study the prelate's case, not as judges of his conduct but as witnesses to the truth of his charges. He finished by declaring:

> The Jesuits have placed themselves with regard to these matters, in such a position, that the Archbishop need only publish the truth to create a profound scandal among their best friends.

No mention of this letter is made in the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees on November 10, 1857.[51] The letter, however, was read to the Board by its president, Peter Hargous.[52] After the Board adjourned, Hargous sought an interview with the Jesuit superior general. He informed Hus that, during the twenty-nine years he had known the Archbishop, he had never heard—nor ever expected to hear—Hughes admit he was in the wrong. He declared that the only way the Jesuits could get their rights was by an appeal to the Pope. Hus informed the general that he, too, believed that an appeal should be made, for he was convinced that the Archbishop would obey no instructions save those of the supreme pontiff. He went on to report that the Archbishop was speaking angrily about the Jesuits to anyone who would listen and stating that he was thinking about taking the title of St. John's College away from them.

A few days after the Board adjourned, some of its members held an unofficial meeting to explore avenues of possible reconciliation.[53] Hus and Murphy represented the Jesuits; Fr. Starrs, Hughes' vicar general, and Peter Hargous were the other persons present. The

[51] FUA, Minutes of Board, Nov. 10, 1857. Glover, the Archbishop's lawyer, was absent from this and subsequent meetings of the Board.

[52] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Nov. 17, 1857.

[53] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Dec. 5, 1857. This meeting took place on Nov. 23, 1857.

meeting, however, produced no results. It strengthened Hus' opinion that the only recourse left to the Jesuits was an appeal to the Pope. He declared that, save for the scandal that would result, he and a number of his consultors would like to move out of the archdiocese.

The Archbishop's letter to the Board could not be ignored. Hus called his consultors together to discuss what measures should be taken. It was decided that an answer should be made, and addressed to the president of the Board.[54] Hus forwarded a copy of this letter to Rome.[55] It followed the pattern of Hus' letter to the Archbishop of August 17, 1857. Once again, Hus insisted that the Jesuits had bought St. John's, not received it as a gift. Once again, he listed the advantages accruing to the Archbishop through the coming of the Jesuits to his diocese. Hus went on to compile another list of the Jesuit efforts for the Church in New York.

1. In leaving Kentucky, they had sacrificed large properties there.

2. They had spent $60,000 of their own money in New York.

3. They had further incurred debts of more than that amount.

4. At their own expense, they had devoted to the service of the Archdiocese of New York, for over ten years, twenty priests, thirty brothers, and ten scholastics.

5. At their own expense, they had trained, for the service of New York, large numbers of scholastics—eighteen in France, ten at Fordham and fifteen in Canada.

6. They had served the glory of God in New York.

7. They had worked and saved to pay the interest on the debts on the College of St. John's and the Church and College of St. Francis Xavier.

To this letter, the superior general appended another list of the steps to be taken to restore peace between the Jesuits and the Archbishop.

1. Let the Archbishop be content with the seminary property as it is.

2. Let the Jesuits have peaceful possession of the rest of the land at Fordham.

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[54] NYPA, Acta consult., Nov. 13; Nov. 26, 1857.

[55] ArchRSJ, Hus to Hargous, Nov. 26, 1857.

3. Let the Archbishop see to it that the fence between the railroad and the college lands be constructed.

4. Let the Archbishop give the Jesuits the promised church and residence in New York City, and further indemnify them for the dozen years of revenue they had lost through failure to implement the promise.

5. Let the Archbishop restore to the Jesuits the title of their Church of St. Francis Xavier. If he desires, the Jesuits will turn over to him the $6,116 they had received from the collection taken up throughout the diocese to help defray the cost of construction of the church.

6. Let the Archbishop turn over to St. John's College the legacy left to it in the will of Mrs. Eliza McCarthy.[56]

7. Let the Archbishop cease his criticism of the Jesuit methods of education.[57]

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[56] When Bishop Hughes was preparing to open the College of St. John, he had made an appeal for the college throughout his diocese. The Mrs. McCarthy in question had then made a will which included a legacy of $10,000 for St. John's College. Though she died shortly after, the will was not probated until 1855. The fathers had not received the money by the end of 1857; ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubilon, Nov. 17, 1857. The lawyer in charge of the probate informed the fathers that since the will stipulated that the money was to be turned over to Bishop Hughes for the College of St. John's, the money had been delivered to the Archbishop. Fr. Starrs informed the Jesuits that the Archbishop was using the money, stipulated for the College of St. John, to pay the expenses of the students in the Seminary of St. Joseph; ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Jan. 20, 1858.

[57] The import of this complaint may refer to a number of incidents. Later the Archbishop was to admit that he spoke too strongly when he wrote to Boulanger asserting that the Jesuits in his diocese had done nothing to advance the work of education; ArchRSJ, Legouais, Procès-verbal, Sept. 28, 1858. It may also refer to the criticism of Jesuit education, as favoring the growth of infidelity and as inimical to the republican institutions of the United States, which had appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* in 1849-1850. Since the *Freeman's Journal* very frequently reflected Hughes' opinions, and since the prelate did nothing to prevent the publications of these strictures nor did he publicly reprehend them, the Jesuits were very much perturbed; ArchRSJ, Ignatius Brocard, S.J., to John Roothaan, S.J., Oct. 6, Dec. 15, 1849, Jan. 6, 1850. Brocard was then provincial of the Maryland Province, and Roothaan was the Jesuit general. As a result of these attacks, the fathers at St. John's College decided to cease the publication of the college prospectus in the *Freeman's Journal*; FUA, Acta consultationum Collegii Sti. Joannis, May 17, 1850.

8. Let the Archbishop not consider the ninth clause of the convention of 1845 as giving him the right to preempt the College of St. John's.

9. Let the Jesuits be free to mortgage their property at Fordham, or sell part of it, to get the necessary financial resources for further construction.

10. Let the Fordham College be freed of the annoyance caused by the trespassing of hundreds of people on their way to the parish church, formerly the seminary chapel.

Hargous later reported to Hus that he had passed on the letter to Starrs, and told the vicar general that, if he thought it advisable, he might show it to the Archbishop.[58]

The Jesuit general intervenes

From Rome, Hus received the information that the Jesuit general had decided that the dispute would have to be brought to the attention of the Congregation of the Propaganda.[59] The superior general declared that the New York fathers approved of that step. But he suggested that the general might first intervene by a direct letter to the Archbishop.

The general may have been more inclined to follow Hus' suggestion after he read a long review of the situation from the pen of Thomas Legouais, one of the consultors of the New York-Canada Mission.[60] Legouais noted that the enrollment of St. John's College in 1858 was about 130, a notable drop from the high of 180 in 1856. He attributed the falling off to the hostility shown the school by the Archbishop and the secular clergy. How to handle the Archbishop, Legouais frankly confessed he did not know. Every attempt that had been made to mitigate his wrath had only made him still more angry and less inclined to conciliation. For some times, things had been fairly quiet, but the fathers apprehensively judged that it was the quiet before the storm. *"A longo tempore silet, quasi meditans. CC* [consultors] *non dubitant quin se paret ad fulmen subito feriendum."* They believed it possible that the prelate would accuse the Jesuits in Rome, and more than probable that he would

[58] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Jan. 20, 1858.
[59] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Feb. 1, 1858.
[60] ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Feb. 12, 1858.

attempt to eject them from Fordham, for he had frequently expressed his regret that he had given the college to the Jesuits.

Though giving Hus full marks for good intentions, Legouais questioned his ability to settle the dispute. The problem of the seminary boundaries had been practically settled by Boulanger. But when Hus took office, he reopened the question and added conditions which would never be granted by Hughes. Instead of one bone of contention, Hus had dug up four or five. In the Archbishop's circle, it was asserted that the Jesuits were being difficult due to their anger at being expelled from the diocesan seminary. Legouais regretted the fact that Hus had brought forth the sixth clause of the convention of 1845 and, on that basis, had advanced a claim for a church and a house and a further demand for $50,000-60,000 in lost revenue. These claims could not but anger the Archbishop the more. Since they had been brought forth, he had refused to have any communication with the superior general. Although Legouais had opposed these claims from the beginning, most of the consultors, he noted, approved Hus' stand.

But the thunderbolt apprehensively expected by the Jesuits did not fall. Although the superior general reported that the Archbishop was announcing that he had never promised the Jesuits the gift of a church and house,[61] and was accusing Hus of discussing private matters with laymen,[62] Hughes made no move.

Then the Jesuit general, adopting the suggestion of Hus, intervened by a personal letter to the Archbishop.[63] He expressed his regret over the dispute, the more regrettable in that it concerned only temporal affairs. If his subjects had carried frankness or their demands too far, the general asked the Archbishop's pardon. The New York fathers found the present state of tension unbearable. But the general was reluctant to appeal to Propaganda. He asked the Archbishop for any suggestions of measures to restore peace.

In his response, the Archbishop charged the Jesuits in New York of "calumnies secretly and stealthily uttered by them against me."[64] He accused them of having "traduced me to laymen, without giving

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[61] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, March 9, 1858.
[62] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, April 8, 1858.
[63] NYPA, Beckx to Hughes, May 8, 1858.
[64] ArchRSJ, Hughes to Beckx, June 3, 1858.

me an opportunity of explaining." He requested that a conference be arranged in which he would confront the New York Jesuits and prove the falseness of their charges. He asked that the general appoint two of his subjects to attend the conference in the capacity of witnesses. These witnesses should not be members of the New York-Canada Mission. Hughes suggested two members of the Maryland Province, Charles Stonestreet, a former provincial of Maryland, and John McElroy, an intimate friend of the Archbishop and one of the outstanding Jesuits in America.

Both parties in New York were quite ready to accept the intervention of the general. Before the general's response to the Archbishop's letter had reached America, the consultors of the New York-Canada Mission had decided that no one in America could restore peace and that the general should intervene.[65] And the general's initiative notably changed the attitude of the Archbishop. Although he had refused the invitation to preside over the commencement of St. John's, he unexpectedly appeared at Fordham on commencement day.[66] From the pulpit of the seminary chapel, he announced that he never intended the chapel should be used permanently as a parish church, and offered the parish a site west of the railroad for their future church. Then the Archbishop attended the commencement exercises, addressed the audience, and afterwards inspected the college buildings.

Beginnings of arbitration

No doubt the general wondered how the conference the Archbishop wanted solely to justify himself could advance the cause of peace. But since Hughes obviously thought his proposal of importance, the general acceded to the request. Stonestreet and McElroy were instructed to attend the conference and report their impressions to Jesuit headquarters.[67] The New York Jesuits were told to attend and to bring their complaints as the Archbishop required.[68]

Since it was the Archbishop who wanted the confrontation, the arrangement of details was left in his hands. He called the meeting

[65] NYPA, Acta consult., Aug. 26, 1858.
[66] ArchRSJ, Legouais to Rubillon, Sept. 17, 1858.
[67] NYPA, Beckx to McElroy, Aug. 14, 1858.
[68] NYPA, Hus to Tellier (?), Aug. 15, 1858.

for 10 A.M. on September 21, in the sacristy of the Cathedral.[69] Eight persons were to be present—the Archbishop, his vicar general, two secretaries whom the Archbishop would appoint, two New York Jesuits, and the two Maryland Jesuits as witnesses. The sole purpose of the meeting the Archbishop underlined in a letter to the superior general:[70]

> You are aware that imputations have been put more or less into circulation by the Society of Jesus in this Diocese (for I will not speak of individuals), well calculated to degrade me, both in my own estimation and in the estimation of others, if they were true. The examination of their truth will be the object of our meeting. If true, I shall have nothing more to say—if not true, I will expect that these imputations shall be frankly and fully retracted in writing.
>
> The form of the proceeding will be framed exclusively with the view to test the truth of what has been alleged against me by your Society.

As he informed the general, Hus wrote to the Archbishop to request some changes.[71] He asked that the Jesuits be allowed to name one of the secretaries; that before the prelate declare that the Jesuits spread calumnies, he prove that they uttered any; that he inform the fathers in advance, at least summarily, what the calumnies were, who said them, where and before whom; and, finally, that the conference be broadened to cover all the points of disagreement between the Jesuits and the Archbishop. Hus went on to report that McElroy, after he had visited Hughes, had expressed the opinion that if the Archbishop did not get everything he demanded, he would appeal to Rome—a fact which neither Hus nor any of his consultors would be inclined to doubt. He also reported an incident as indicative of the Archbishop's frame of mind. A Jesuit priest, Claude Pernot, had requested his discharge from the Society. Without waiting for his dismissal letters, he had left the Jesuit community and gone to New York. Although the Archbishop could not know whether or not Pernot was an apostate from religion, he at once appointed him pastor of one of the city churches. "*N'importe, il se separe de la Compagnie, donc il est digne de toutes faveurs.*"

Fr. William Murphy carried Hus' letter to the Archbishop, who seemed quite pleased with it.[72] Hughes agreed that the Jesuits

[69] NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, Sept. 4, 1858.
[70] NYPA, Hughes to Hus, Sept. 4, 1858.
[71] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 10, 1858.
[72] NYPA, Murphy to Hus, Sept. 9, Sept. 10, 1858.

should appoint their own secretary. He promised to send the Jesuits the list of his complaints and requested that they send him theirs. He found the other points suggested by the superior general were also acceptable. The Archbishop notified Murphy that, since McElroy could not be present in New York on September 20, the date of the conference had been shifted to September 28. He told Murphy that he had no legal right to the land west of the railroad or south of the seminary property. But he wanted that land, and in exchange he would give the Jesuits the seminary land occupied by the Jesuits' road to their farm. Murphy's hopes for some substantial good from the conference were raised by the Archbishop's declaration that "the talk among priests and laity about our dispute had happily died away"; "that occasionally carried away by his feelings and under a sense of indignity done to him as a man and as a prelate, he had expressed himself somewhat harshly."

In the interval before the confrontation, the Jesuits busied themselves in drawing up the list of grievances to be presented to the Archbishop. Before they were satisfied, they considered a number of drafts.[73] The drafts, however, agreed on essentials. The Jesuits denied they had spread calumnies against the Archbishop. They had discussed their difficulties with only two laymen—one the president of the Board of Trustees, who could not help but know of the dispute, and the other their lawyer, a man of the highest reputation and professionally bound to secrecy, whom they had consulted only after the Archbishop had given them the example. Both men had been consulted in confidence, and neither had violated the Jesuits' trust. All the drafts contained special mention of the three major Jesuits complaints—the cramping clause, the title of the Church on 16th Street, the unfulfilled promise of a church and a house. A number of minor complaints were considered, but not mentioned in the draft to be presented to the Archbishop.

And the Archbishop, too, had drawn up the list of his grievances. They were presented to the Jesuits in a document entitled "Mode of proceeding in the investigation of topics controverted between the Society of Jesus in this diocese, and the Archbishop."[74] Hughes

[73] ArchRSJ, Plaintes des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus contre Msgr. John Hughes, Archevêque de New York, undated; 2e Project d'Exposé de nos griefs, Sept. 10, 1858. NYPA, Draft of difficulties . . . , Sept. 12 (?), 1858.

[74] NYPA, Hughes, "Mode of proceeding . . . ," Sept. 14, 1858.

proposed to open the meeting by expounding a simple history of the facts, which would be open to correction or emendation by the Jesuits. Then the Jesuits should be called upon to prove or to retract:

1st. They have said that the Archbishop wished to deprive them of property on the west side of the railway which was theirs . . .

2nd. That he must have received pecuniary compensation from the Harlem Rail Road Co. for the right of way through their ground and that this compensation properly belonged to them . . .

3rd. That they are entitled to a bequest made by the late Mrs. Eliza McCarthy, several years before they came to the diocese, and which the Archbishop withheld.

4th. That in a survey of the ground, the Archbishop has attempted to claim more than belongs to him.

These four charges were the sum total of the grievances that the Archbishop complained of.[75] If the Jesuits did not prove these charges at the conference, the Archbishop expected to receive a written apology.

Plan of reconciliation

Apparently encouraged by the progress Murphy had made in his interview with the Archbishop of September 8, the superior general decided to see if some further progress could not be registered in another interview. On September 22, 1858, Hus, accompanied by Murphy, called at the Archbishop's residence with what he considered a plan of reconciliation. While the plan made no mention of any Jesuit concession to the Archbishop, it requested that Hughes revoke the cramping clause, give the Jesuits the title of the Church on 16th Street, make a free gift to the Jesuits of a church and house in New York City, and further indemnify the Jesuits for the loss of revenue they had sustained through the failure to implement the promise over a period of twelve years. Since the Archbishop was absent at Saratoga, Hus sent his plan with a covering letter informing the Archbishop that he would wait on him on his return to New York.[76]

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[75] It may be noted that the present writer has seen no Jesuit document which gives any basis for the Archbishop's second grievance. The other three complaints are based on claims which the Jesuits did make.

[76] NYPA, Hus to Hughes, Sept. 22, 1858.

The results of this communication could have been foreseen. The superior general received no answer to his letter.[77] Nevertheless, on September 27, the day before the conference, Hus, again accompanied by Murphy, called on the Archbishop. After keeping the Jesuits waiting for an hour and a half, the Archbishop appeared in the parlor, blasted Hus in French for demanding "his pound of flesh," declared he would have nothing more to do with him, and then made a point of speaking in English, which Hus did not understand, to Murphy.[78]

Hughes' version of the controversy

The conference was held as scheduled on the morning of September 28 in the Cathedral sacristy.[79] Archbishop Hughes was present with his vicar general and Fr. McNerny, the secretary he had chosen. McElroy and Stonestreet were there. For the New York Jesuits appeared Murphy and Larkin, with Legouais as their secretary.[80]

The Archbishop opened the meeting by reading a long document he entitled "Statement of the facts connected with the introduction of the Jesuit Fathers into the diocese of New York."[81] This statement contained a survey of the early history of St. John's College—how Hughes purchased the land, collected the necessary funds, engaged a faculty. In 1844-45 the bishop had applied for a charter from the Regents of the University of the State of New York; at that time, he had collected evidence that the property at Fordham was worth $129,000. When the Archbishop decided to turn the college over to a religious order, the superior general of the French Jesuits and he had quickly reached agreement. Before that event, the prelate had given the Harlem Rail Road a right of way over the

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[77] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 6, 1858.

[78] ArchRSJ, Legouais, 3e note sur les affaires de N.Y., Oct. 4, 1858; Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 6, 1858.

[79] ArchRSJ, Legouais, Procès-verbal de la Conférence du 28 Sept. 1858 tenue dans la Sacristie de la Cathédrale de N.Y. . . . An English draft of this report is in NYPA.

[80] They had been selected at a meeting of the Mission consultors. NYPA, Acta consult., Aug. 30, 1858.

[81] ArchRSJ, contains the copy of this statement sent to the general by Archbishop Hughes some time after the conference.

college land in exchange for a free pass on the trains for the college and some other trifling conditions.

The Archbishop managed, before the Jesuits took over the college, to get a charter, not from the Regents but from the State Legislature. When the Board of Trustees was constituted, it was with the understanding that the trustees would resign, one after the other, until the Jesuits had a majority of the Board. When the Archbishop was ready to transfer the college property, he and the superior general decided that there should be two documents, the first a deed of conveyance, "as if the property had been sold in fee simple, and paid for," the second, not intended for public record, which specified the uses and purposes for which the property was transferred. Unfortunately, the prelate went on, several mistakes had been made in the deed of conveyance, whence the present conflict arose.

The Jesuits, the Archbishop insisted, had assumed the debts of the college, which amounted, he believed at the time, to $40,000. After the Jesuits had taken over, another $6,000 in debts were discovered and paid off by the prelate. Since the Jesuits declared they could not raise the $40,000, Hughes "agreed to stand between them and those depositors for a certain time, until they could pay it off by degrees." The unspecified depositors were to receive 5% interest on their money, and the Jesuits agreed to pay these charges. Since Boulanger believed it might be difficult to raise the 5%, the Archbishop proposed that the fathers staff his seminary and use their salaries to work off the interest, at least in part. The Archbishop noted that, to the present, the Jesuits had paid off only $17,000 of their debt, while on the other hand, to support the seminary, "I have paid them about $50,000."

He then turned to other topics. It was mutually understood that the Jesuits had come to New York "exclusively for the purposes of Catholic education, that is, they were not invited for the purpose of missionary duties." To encourage them to open schools in New York City, Hughes had offered them a church, "the only one then at his disposal." The superior agreed, but when the Archbishop later made the actual offer of the church, the Jesuits declined the proffered gift, on the plea that the church was in debt.

When the superior general later approached the Archbishop with the proposition that the Jesuits buy or build a church, the prelate readily gave his permission. The fathers did buy a church. Al-

though it was agreed that "in this diocese the Jesuit Fathers should never claim the privilege of a mendicant order—should never make a collection or appeal to the faithful for alms—except with the previous knowledge and consent of the Ordinary," the Jesuits, in violation of the agreement, did take up a collection for their church. The Archbishop knew of this violation, but said nothing.

Permission to rebuild

Subsequently, the church was destroyed by fire. The Jesuits then asked the Archbishop for permission to take up a collection to rebuild, which permission they received. Had the prelate known the methods the Jesuits would use, he would have refused. For they solicited "almost from door to door through both cities (New York and Brooklyn), at least, and especially, in the city of New York." And in a sermon soliciting for the collection, a father declared that the Jesuits had purchased St. John's College for a price. When the Archbishop told the Jesuits that they must terminate their collection on a specific date, they approached him "with very polite threats and menaces, not indeed frankly expressed." "The Archbishop understood these menaces and treated them as they deserved."

Although the Jesuits had collected on the plea of rebuilding their church, they never rebuilt. Many subscribers later complained with bitterness that the fathers had obtained money under false pretenses. After some time had passed, the Jesuits collected the insurance money, sold the site of their church and moved their school to another section of the city. They neither accounted for the money they had collected, nor used it for the purpose for which it was given. Later, the Jesuits approached the Archbishop about building a new church. The results of these negotiations is the Church on 16th Street. That church now has an annual income, as reported by the pastor, of $10,000-$12,000, "whilst the only credit given for collections to build the church is scarcely equal to the amount which the organ cost, say $7,000."

Boulanger and Hughes had agreed that, if any dispute arose between the Archbishop and the Jesuits, it should be settled quietly by the prelate and the superior general. When the Jesuit church went up in flames, the Superior asked the Archbishop that the priests serving the church be assigned to rectories about the city. The Archbishop at once agreed. But he soon heard reports that the Jesuits

were working only with the most pious members of the parishes to which they had been assigned, "as if those required to be converted anew," and among the pious, only with the richest. For the poor, the fathers had no time. Further, "it became whispered all about that the Jesuits received nothing for their ministerial toil." Other reports reached the Archbishop: a Jesuit was seen in a public theatre, another at the opera during Holy Week. The prelate requested the superior general either to exercise direct supervision over these men, or place them under the authority of the Archbishop, "who would take upon himself to see that at least they should not attend theatres or opera." The result of the prelate's representations was that the superior withdrew the offenders from the city. Within a few days, the laity were "in a state of fermentation against the Archbishop," who was accused of expelling the fathers from the city. The prelate summoned the Superior and rebuked him for violating "the secret and sacred understanding" to keep any differences quiet. While the superior only shrugged his shoulders, his companion declared that the Archbishop had separated penitents from their confessors, and declared that St. Ignatius had predicted that the Society would never lack persecutors, even among popes and bishops. "From that period to the present," Hughes concluded, "the Archbishop has not known any one member of the Society of Jesus in the diocese of New York with whom, altho' he has made repeated efforts, he could hold official communication."

The reading of the "Statement of the facts" occupied the greater part of an hour. It was followed by discussion which lasted for another several hours.[82] Murphy noted that the man best qualified to speak for the Jesuit side, the superior general, was not present at the conference.

Good and useful Jesuits

The Archbishop declared that he was favorably disposed towards the Jesuits. They were good and useful men, and he did not want them to leave his diocese. Since they wanted a church, he would see what he could do to satisfy them. By offering them a church in 1847, he had fulfilled his obligation under the sixth clause of the convention of 1845. He went on to assert that the word "house" was

[82] ArchRSJ, Legouais, Procès-verbal.

not in that document; he had never intended to make the Jesuits the gift of a house.

To the Archbishop's claim that the Jesuits had profited from the destruction of their original church, Larkin, who had been rector of the church at the time of the fire, was able to enter a rebuttal. He pointed out that the church had been heavily in debt. The money obtained from the fire insurance, the sale of the property and the collection in the diocese had been used to pay off the debt. But $1,600 remained, which was used in the construction of the Church on 16th Street, which was owned by the Archbishop. Larkin went on to declare that the bishop's offer of a church burdened with very heavy debts could scarcely be considered the offer of a gift.

On the question of the title of the Church of St. Francis Xavier, the Archbishop brought out and read the correspondence he had had with Boulanger about the matter. He conceded that he had perhaps spoken too strongly when he wrote the Superior General that the Jesuits were doing almost nothing for education. Although he did not care a farthing for the title of the church, that was the arrangement between the superior and himself. The argument was adduced that, since Boulanger at that time had not brought up the sixth clause, this was a renunciation of that clause by the Jesuit superior.

Towards the end of the meeting, Legouais broke his silence as secretary to propose the major Jesuit demands. The Jesuits would transfer to the Archbishop what land he wanted at Fordham. Since Hughes did not at all care about the title of the Xavier church, let him give that title to the Jesuits. Let the Archbishop either annul the cramping clause, or so interpret it that the Jesuits might be free to develop the college. In response, the prelate once more denied that he had sold St. John's. He declared the fathers had full rights to mortgage its property, and that he would discuss the revocation of the cramping clause in some future conversation. Thereupon the conference came to an end.

McElroy and Stonestreet at once drew up their report of the conference for Fr. Beckx.[83] In their opinion, Hughes had completely answered all the complaints that were alleged against him. "In fine the A. B. [Archbishop] convinced us perfectly that our FF

[83] NYPA, McElroy and Stonestreet to Beckx, Sept. 28, 1858.

[fathers] were in fault . . ." "We are convinced that the A. B. is by no means unfriendly to the Society; that we regret to be obliged to say—that our FF have not acted as they should have done to Episcopal authority and the respect due to it."

Later, McElroy sent a fuller individual report to the Jesuit general.[84] He put at the root of all the trouble the cramping clause and the title to the church at Xavier. When the bad effects of these agreements appeared, the Jesuits turned hostile to the Archbishop. Boulanger should never have agreed to these sources of troubles. He was a bad manager of affairs; the same is to be said of Hus, who should be replaced. McElroy and Stonestreet were of the opinion that an apology should be made to the Archbishop. At the conference of September 28, Hughes proved that he had carried out all his obligations under the convention of 1845. To his explanations, the New York Jesuits had nothing to say. In McElroy's judgment, the conference had been a humiliation for the Society of Jesus.

Reaction of the New York Jesuits

The reaction of the New York Jesuits was quite different from that of McElroy and Stonestreet. They believed that the confrontation was quite unfair, that the Archbishop had stacked the cards against the Jesuits.[85] Hus was the superior general of the New York-Canada Mission; he had been present at the negotiations of the convention of 1845; he was the best informed Jesuit on the problems to be discussed. But Hus was not allowed to attend the conference.[86] Not only had the Archbishop excluded Hus, but he prevented the two official representatives of the New York Jesuits from consulting one another during the conference by assigning them seats at different sides of the conference table.[87]

As to the "Statement of facts," Larkin characterized it as "*summa arte scripta—factis enumerandis, colorandis, exaggerandis*", a "*veram calumniam*" of the Society of Jesus.[88] The Archbishop had notified the Jesuits he would bring four accusation against them. These charges were the very basis of the meeting. But the Arch-

[84] ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, Oct. 6, 1858.
[85] ArchRSJ, Legouais, 3e note sur les affaires de N.Y., Oct 4, 1858.
[86] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 29, 1858; Larkin to Beckx, Oct. 10, 1858.
[87] ArchRSJ, Larkin to Beckx, Oct. 10, 1858.
[88] *Ibid.*

bishop made no attempt to prove them; indeed, he did not even so much as mention them.[89] Instead, he brought up all sorts of matters from the past. The fathers had received no forewarning, and were consequently unprepared to answer. As a result, they could speak only at random.[90] And the fathers balked at accepting several contentions of the Archbishop—that the convention he had signed and to which he had affixed his seal in 1845 was merely a simple declaration of the views of the two parties, that the words promising the Jesuits a house had not been in the contract he signed but had been inserted later.[91]

The Archbishop's "Statement of facts" was not available to the Jesuits till the prelate presented a copy for the general a year after the conference. The superior general did, however, have the impressions of the Jesuits who had been present and the notes of Legouais. He consequently wrote several letters to Rome to refute some of the prelate's major contentions. He rejected the Archbishop's views on the promised church and house, and on the problem of the title of the Xavier church.[92] He went to some length to show that the debts of the College of St. John could not, on the evidence at hand, been $40,000 in 1846.[93] He cited evidence against the Archbishop's contention that St. John's made a net profit each year of

[89] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 29, 1858; Larkin to Beckx, Oct. 10, 1858.

[90] ArchRSJ, Legouais, 3[e] note sur les affaires de N.Y., Oct. 4, 1858.

[91] *Ibid.* A study of the original contract in NYPA shows conclusively that the words "avec une maison" were part of the original text. By this assertion, the Archbishop, for all practical purposes, accused the Jesuits of tampering with documents, if not of forgery. The rather surprising thing is that the documents show that the Jesuit reaction to this charge was extremely mild—possibly because the Fathers were accused of so many things, in their view baseless, that another charge could not disturb them.

[92] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Sept. 29, 1858.

[93] *Ibid.* The college had cost about $40,000—$29,000 for the land, $10,000 for remodeling the buildings. Hus cities the letter of Hughes to Larkin, Oct. 8, 1845, in which the bishop said that of that sum he had paid $5-6,000 from money on hand, had collected $18-20,000 from the diocese, and had added sums from other sources, as subsidies of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. Hus notes that the bishop, during the years 1840-1845, had received $48,000 from the French Society. Consequently, the bishop could have paid off every cent of the $40,000 before the Jesuits came to New York. There is independent evidence to show there is some justice in Hus' contention. In 1843, Bishop Hughes informed a Maryland Jesuit that the debts of the college

the prelate's administration of $10,000-$12,000.[94] And he rejected the valuation of $129,000 put on the college by Hughes.[95]

Shortly after the eventful conference, Thomas Legouais sent another thoughtful survey of the situation to the Jesuit general.[96] He would find neither side in the dispute free of fault. Shortly after the Jesuits had arrived in New York, an antipathy had developed between Bishop Hughes and Boulanger, who had sometimes spoken and acted imprudently. And the mode of action of the fathers during their first years in the city did more to alienate than to please the Archbishop. The poor administration of the diocesan seminary by the Jesuits further alienated the bishop and his clergy. On the seminary question, Legouais declared that the chief faults were attributable to the Jesuits.

All the major problems were in being before Hus arrived in New York, but they were dormant till he came. The new superior general quite rightly thought that the cramping clause should be removed and the title of the Xavier church restored to the Jesuits. He declared that he had been instructed to attain those ends, and he set out to do so.[97] The position of Boulanger towards the bishop had been, in Legouais' opinion, weak, undignified and humiliating for the fathers. It was true that Hus changed that, and inspirited the fathers; but *"il vint ici, la tête montée, et elle ne s'est calmée*

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were $19,000. ArchRSJ, Anthony Rey, S.J., to John Roothaan, Nov. 27, 1843. In the three subsequent years, according to the bishop's statement of profits, the college would have cleared at least $30,000, wiping out the debt. John Hassard, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes,* (New York, Appleton, 1866), 204, notes, that of the $40,000 "A large part of the money was obtained in this way by voluntary subscription; a considerable sum was collected in Europe; and the rest was finally raised by loans in small amounts . . ."

[94] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 6, 1858. He declares that the priest who had been the college treasurer during the years of Hughes' administration had informed the Jesuits that St. John's had lost money each year save one, when its net profit was less than $1,000. Hus pointed out that, if the Archbishop's estimate of yearly profits were true, the Jesuits, in their dozen years at Fordham, would have cleared about $120,000; instead, they were able to reduce their debt only by $17,000.

[95] *Ibid.* In 1843, the bishop had valued the college at only $70,000; ArchRSJ, Rey to Roothaan, Nov. 27, 1843.

[96] ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Oct. 13, 1858.

[97] Hus had, in fact, introduced these problems at his first meetings with his consultors; NYPA, Acta consult., Dec. 20, 1855.

depuis." Within a few months, Hus had made the Archbishop much more hostile to him than he had ever been to Boulanger. The Jesuits had had two major problems with the prelate. Hus had multiplied them. He had, for example, brought up the sixth clause, and in a most abrupt and maladroit manner. Hus had begun his campaign over the miserable question of the seminary boundaries. He informed his consultors that he intended to take a strong position on this very minor question, merely to show the Archbishop that he could not intimidate the Jesuits. He hoped thus to force the prelate to be accomodating on more important matters; he only succeeded in enraging him. Legouais believed that nothing could be gained by an appeal to Propaganda. He urged the general to send a special emissary to conciliate Hughes, and then seek the major Jesuit demands. To attain those points, he suggested the sixth clause as a bargaining weapon.

Hus meanwhile sent to Rome reports of other incidents which showed, in his opinion, the Archbishop's unfair treatment of the Jesuits.[98] The fathers had begun, in New York, work among the neglected Negro Catholics, which Hughes had terminated by refusing a special church for the colored people. The Fordham Jesuits had built up a parish in Yonkers, which Hughes saw for the first time when he came to bless the church. A few weeks later, he ejected the Jesuits from the parish. For years, the fathers had been working in the prisons, without a word of appreciation or a penny of financial assistance from the diocese.

Beckx works for a settlement

With the evidence now at hand, the Jesuit authorities in Rome were considering the steps to be taken. Boulanger, now the superior of the Jesuit house in Nancy, was asked to clarify a number of points and submit his suggestions. The former superior general believed that the Jesuits should accede to Hughes' demands for more land at Fordham, and expressed his strong opposition to Hus' demand for a indemnity from the Archbishop for failure to implement the sixth clause.[99] He confirmed Hus' statement that Hughes had not requested the troublesome ninth clause, but that the

[98] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 22, 1858.

[99] ArchRSJ, Boulanger to Rubillon (?), Oct. 20, 1858.

superior general himself had proposed it.[100] He had never believed that the prelate would make a gift, in the strict sense, of a church and a house to the Jesuits. But since the bishop had not put these buildings at the disposal of the Jesuits until they could establish themselves in the city, Boulanger believed that the fathers would be justified in demanding that the bishop reimburse them for the expenses to which they had been put. One step was quite clear to the Jesuit headquarters. Hus would have to be replaced. He himself had requested it,[101] and the fathers in New York were sure that he was not the man to end the conflict.[102]

In November 1858, the general communicated his decisions to the superior general.[103] An appeal to Propaganda was ruled out. Any accusations made against the propriety of the Archbishop's actions were to be retracted. The claim for the gift of a church and a house was not to be pressed, nor was a claim to the legacy of Mrs. McCarthy to be made. Beckx informed Hus that a negotiated settlement must be made. He proposed to send an emissary who was not a member of the New York-Canada Mission, and asked Hus' opinion on McElroy and Stonestreet for the office of peacemaker. He informed the superior general that when the settlement had been effected he would be relieved of his office.

That the general's decisions would receive ready acceptance among the New York Jesuits was indicated by a letter from Tellier which reached Rome after the general's missive had been despatched.[104] The rector of St. John's lamented the fact that the enrollment of the college had dropped to 124 students, due to the hostility of the Archbishop and his clergy. He believed his retention of his office was displeasing to Hughes, and he reported it to be the common rumor that the Archbishop demanded, as the price of peace, the official heads of himself and of Hus. He declared that, with the possible exception of Murphy, no New York Jesuit could negotiate peace and called for a Visitor to accomplish that end.

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[100] ArchRSJ, Boulanger to Beckx, Nov. 5, 1858.

[101] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Oct. 22, 1858.

[102] ArchRSJ, Legouais to Beckx, Oct. 13, 1858; Tellier to Beckx, Oct. 26, 1858.

[103] NYPA, Beckx to Hus, Nov. 2, 1858.

[104] ArchRSJ, Tellier to Beckx, Oct. 26, 1858.

Hus himself accepted the general's decision without demur.[105] But he found hard to bear the vision of the Archbishop's rejoicing over his triumph and the removal of the superior general. Despondently he predicted that the fathers who brought Hughes the news would get a warm welcome—but nothing for the Society.

Hus called together the consultors of the Mission and read them the general's letter.[106] There was unanimous approval of the decision that no appeal should be made to Propaganda and that a negotiated settlement should be made.[107] The consultors agreed that the best man to attempt reconciliation was John McElroy. But there was some opposition to his appointment as an official Visitor, for fear of the effect on some of the younger men of the Mission who wanted to end what they termed the "French regime."[108] Hus ended his report to the general with the intimation that he expected Murphy, who was well liked by the Archbishop, as his replacement, and with the suggestion that a special superior—he recommended Stonestreet—be appointed for the New York half of the Mission. He vented his disappointment and resentment of Hughes, whom he accused of a long list of deceits, in a separate letter to the French Assistant.[109]

McElroy's mission

On receiving the reactions to his decisions, the general immediately set about the arrangements for the negotiations. McElroy was informed of his special office and endowed with all necessary authority as the general's *alter ego* to settle the quarrel.[110] He was instructed to accomplish three things—to placate the Archbishop, to obtain the title of the Church on 16th Street, to end the cramping clause. These three objectives secured, McElroy was empowered to renounce every other Jesuit claim on the Archbishop and to give him whatever he desired at Fordham. Hughes was to be informed that Hus would soon be replaced. If the prelate demanded a retractation, it should be made; but McElroy was to avoid, if

[105] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Nov. 29, 1858.
[106] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Dec. 1, 1858.
[107] NYPA, Acta consult., Nov. 29, 1858.
[108] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Dec. 1, 1858.
[109] ArchRSJ, Hus to Rubillon, Dec. 9, 1858.
[110] NYPA, Beckx to McElroy, Jan. 2, 1859.

possible, a retractation in writing. The general also addressed a letter to the Archbishop, informing him of McElroy's functions.[111] Both these letters he sent to Hus, with instructions to forward them to McElroy. They were received in New York at the end of January, 1859[112] and forwarded to McElroy.[113]

On February 22, 1859, McElroy came to New York to accomplish his task.[114] He met Hus and his consultors at Fordham and informed them of the general's instructions. He had several conferences with the Archbishop and was briefed by both sides.[115] On February 26, McElroy, at a meeting with Hus and his consultors, proposed that the Jesuits apologize to the Archbishop, who demanded it, for any injury to the prelate's honor and veracity. But the superior general, declaring that in conscience he could not apologize, refused.[116]

Indeed, Hus' actions seemed designed to hinder McElroy's mission. He protested his actions, even objecting to the fact that McElroy, probably to emphasize his impartiality, chose to stop, not at a Jesuit house, but with a private family.[117] He declared to the general that McElroy refused to tell the New York fathers just what power he had been granted.[118] When Hus declared his readiness to make some excuses, but no apology, since he had spoken only the truth to the Archbishop, McElroy had claimed, but would not show Hus, authorization from the general to impose this obligation on the superior general.[119]

McElroy decided that the apology should be made without the superior general, and that the Archbishop should not be informed of Hus' refusal.[120] On February 27, accompanied by Legouais and

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[111] NYPA, Beckx to Hughes, Jan. 4, 1859.

[112] NYPA, Acta consult., Jan. 27, 1859.

[113] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, Feb. 10, 1859.

[114] ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

[115] NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 23, 1859. ArchRSJ, Un extrait très ample de ces informations, traduit en Anglais par un des CC a été lu et remis sur sa demande au P. McElroy avant il a [sic] du faire sa l[ere] démarche, Feb. 25, 1859.

[116] NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 26, 1859. McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

[117] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

[118] NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 23, 1859, states that McElroy read the General's letter to Hus and the consultors.

[119] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

[120] ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

Murphy, McElroy went to the Archbishop's residence. The Archbishop had the satisfaction of seeing the three Jesuits kneeling before him while McElroy apologized for their faults. At his demand, McElroy later wrote and presented a signed copy to the prelate.[121]

The written apology covers the background of the quarrel and then goes on to declare:

> First, that every statement made against the Archbishop, as if he had been wanting in veracity, in candor, in honor, or in honesty, in his dealing with the Jesuit Fathers, has proved to be unfounded in fact, and to have resulted from misconception or misinformation on the part of the Fathers.
>
> Second, That the Fathers were by an original agreement with their Superior, bound to make known, in the first instance exclusively to the Archbishop, the subject of their real or imaginary grievance in every case, so that he might explain, or, if possible, remedy the grievance complained of.
>
> Third, That imprudently, instead of adhering to this agreement, the Fathers or some of them made their complaints to laymen, contrary to the usage and discipline of this diocese.
>
> Fourth, That if these statements had been true, they would be calculated to degrade the character of the Archbishop in the estimation of the laymen to whom the complaints were made known.
>
> Fifth & finally, . . . no statement derogatory to the character of the Archbishop has been or can be proved . . .
>
> Every such complaint, therefore, made to laymen against the Archbishop is hereby revoked and regretted. The undersigned regrets especially the pain which these events must have given to the Archbishop of New York, and he trusts that this declaration will be accepted as a sufficient apology and reparation for the past, hoping at the same time that for the future nothing of the kind shall occur; and trusting as he has reason to do, that the Most Rev. Archbishop will forgive and forget whatever may have been said unjustly or injuriously to his prejudice, through the misconception or misinformation under which the Fathers labored.

Whether or not the statements of the apology can be justified, the apology did accomplish the desired effect of placating the Archbishop. A few days later, the prelate attended a lecture at St. John's College and, together with many other clergy and laity, remained for dinner with the Jesuits.[122] As the party was taking its

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[121] NYPA, Acta consult., Feb. 27, 1859; Apology made to Arch B. [ishop] Hughes by Father McElroy on behalf of the Fathers of New York, March 1, 1859.

[122] Hus did not greet the Archbishop, nor appear at the dinner, which appeared to McElroy worthy of note; ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March

leave, McElroy requested Murphy, Legouais and Tellier to come to a consultation at the college on 16th Street the following morning. According to Hus, McElroy instructed the fathers not to inform the superior general, but they believed it their duty to notify him.[123]

Consultation at Xavier

The consultation held by McElroy on March 3, 1859 at the College of St. Francis Xavier was to discuss the settlement of the outstanding problems with the Archbishop.[124] The fathers unanimously agreed to give the Archbishop whatever land he wanted at Fordham. McElroy informed them that Hughes regretted that the Jesuits had not applied for the title to the Xavier church before the law on church tenure was passed by the New York State Legislature in 1853, for "he would have then most willingly complied with out wishes." "The FF [fathers] could and did not say anything to the contrary," but they urged McElroy to secure a written declaration of the Archbishop's expressed intention to give the church back to the Jesuits as soon as the law allowed.

On the problem of the cramping clause, the fathers pointed out that at the conference of September 28, 1858 the Archbishop had declared that the Jesuits had the right to mortgage their land at Fordham. But the prelate would not say that the Jesuits had the right to sell part of the land, nor would he put his declaration in writing. McElroy stated he had raised this question with Hughes. He too had failed to get a written statement. But he announced that the Archbishop was willing to raise the sum of money he would repay the Jesuits, if they left the diocese, beyond the $40,000 stipulated in the convention of 1845. The fathers expressed their preference to see the ninth clause revoked.

At the consultation, the fathers from Fordham presented to McElroy a letter from the superior general. It was a protest which, as

14, 1859. Hus explained his absence, declaring it his usual practice, due to his lack of English, to avoid such gatherings; ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

[123] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859. ArchRSJ, Legouais (?), Actual State of Our Relations with the Archbishop, Nov. 27, 1859, states that Hus was informed of the meeting, and was told that he might attend but that he was not invited.

[124] ArchRSJ, Legouais (?), Actual State of Our Relations with the Archbishop, Nov. 27, 1859, has a report of this consultation.

Hus informed the general, he believed he should enter.[125] Another copy was sent to the Archbishop by messenger. Hus told Beckx that if the Jesuit general disapproved his action, he would submit. But he considered his protest a politic move, inasmuch as it would lay the basis for a future appeal to Propaganda and could be used to put off ratification of McElroy's settlement.

The "Protest and Appeal" asserted that the Jesuit general, in appointing McElroy, acted on insufficient and incorrect information; that McElroy had excluded the superior general of the Mission from his councils; that McElroy had not stated, though summoned to do so, the powers he had received; that new documents, unknown to the Jesuit general, had been discovered. Consequently, the superior general entered his protest against any settlement made between the Archbishop, who had not answered Hus' letter of August 17, 1857, and the delegate of the Jesuit general.[126]

This demarche of Hus had no effect on developments. He learned that McElroy believed it was not worth paying attention to.[127] Nevertheless, McElroy, fearing the effect of the protest on the Archbishop, had hurried to visit him. To his relief, he found the Archbishop undisturbed by the protest and quite willing to go on with the settlement.[128] And the protest tried also the patience of the consultors of the Mission; they expressed to McElroy their regret that the general's delegate had not the power to remove the superior general from office. But though no one in New York paid attention to his protest, Hus did his best, by a number of letters, to make sure that attention was paid to it in Rome.[129] In this attempt he failed, since the Jesuit general also repudiated the appeal.[130]

With good relations with the Archbishop reestablished, McElroy went on to negotiate the other objectives set him by Fr. Beckx. The seminary boundaries were rearranged to Hughes' satisfaction. On this point, McElroy declared "I found the Archbishop perfectly correct and just in all he required, and that Ours were in error

[125] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 3, 1859.

[126] ArchRSJ, Hus, "Protest and Appeal", March 3, 1859.

[127] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 4, 1859.

[128] ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

[129] ArchRSJ, Hus to Beckx, March 4, 1859; Hus to Rubillon, March 6, March 7, March ?, 1859.

[130] NYPA, Acta consult., April 23, 1859.

and had misconstrued His Grace's intentions."[131] The Archbishop was quite ready to give the Jesuits the deed of the Church on 16th Street, but the law of 1853 forbade:

The Archbishop has done all he could in this affair, and looks upon the church as *ours*, without any restriction whatever, save the *formality* of rendering an account annually . . . This affair I look upon as settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

On the complaint of the fathers that their ministry in the church on 16th Street was curtailed, McElroy wrote:

On the subject of the confessional, His Grace informed me that his Clergy in the City were a little jealous of their penitents going to St. Fr. Xaviers, and to conciliate and appease them he made the rule of three confessors, which he presumed were quite sufficient, but he says they have only to let him know at any time if more are necessary and he will willingly grant it.

When the discussion moved around to Fordham, McElroy announced to the general that he had made the discovery that St. John's College belonged to the Jesuits

which the Archbishop was not aware of until I found it out from the Lawyers. The reason of the Archbishop's error was that he thought the private arrangement made between him and Fr. Boulanger had been placed on Record (archives publiques) with the original deed . . . As this was omitted, this private arrangement has no force in law.

On the Archbishop hearing this from the lawyer, he wrote me a note in which I find these words "I have discovered that the qualifying clause [i.e., the ninth clause of reversion] has not been put on record, and that the Fathers can legally sell or mortgage the whole property." Still, the Archbishop thinks himself bound in conscience to secure as far as he can the property of St. John's for the education of Cath: youth, as the means collected for its purchase were given with that understanding, and having sent a copy of this agreement to the Cardinal Prefect.

But the Archbishop now agreed that, if the Jesuits left the diocese, they should recover not only the $40,000 they had paid for St. John's, but the additional money they expended on the improvement and construction of the college:

This was looked upon by Ours as the greatest grievance the [y] had to complain of, and this clause in now inserted in a supplement to the said private agreement; so that our Fathers can build and improve as far as they have means to do so. This vexed question has been concluded satisfactorily, in my humble opinion, both to the interests of our Soc[iety] and to the approbation, and I may add, gratification of His Grace.

[131] ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, March 14, 1859.

Only on one point did McElroy believe he had failed to carry to a successful conclusion the general's instructions:

One thing only I could not obtain from his Grace, that is, not to commit the apology we made to writing. His Grace insisted that his honor, veracity and even integrity had been impeached in the Board of Trustees at their meetings, and that he wanted to vindicate himself before the three laymen members of the board of Trustees, and to no others would he ever show it.

The prelate had informed McElroy, to the latter's edification, that he had mentioned his dispute with the Jesuits to no one, save his vicar general. "This I admire very much, as he had great provocation, particularly since the appointment of Fr. Hus." McElroy concluded his long report with praise of the Archbishop:

I must say that his Grace is truly just, honorable, zealous and disinterested, seeking nothing, but the good of our Holy religion. . . . I may add that our Fathers were invariably in fault by forming conjectures in their own mind, from want of correct information, from misrepresentation of others or of ignorance of the real state of affairs between them and His Grace.

Before McElroy despatched his report to the Jesuit general, he received a letter from the Archbishop, congratulating him on the success of his mission.[132] The prelate requested McElroy to inform the general that no public scandal had resulted from the misunderstanding. Hughes himself had told no one save his vicar general, and "the laymen to whom the Fathers appealed have with great prudence and charity kept the matter to themselves." The Archbishop expressed the hope that the settlement would be as satisfactory to the Jesuits as it was to him. For McElroy, he had words of praise:

I confess that if it had not been for the very patience and prudence exercised by yourself, in conducting the affair, I might have been tempted to exact more in the way of repairing the past that I have done.

In acknowledging the receipt of McElroy's report, Beckx thanked him for his good work in restoring peace in New York.[133] He made no mention of the instructions which McElroy had failed to carry through.

When the details of the settlement had been agreed on, but not yet implemented, McElroy left New York. Peace had been achieved between the Archbishop and the Jesuits. Murphy wrote to express

[132] NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, March 7, 1859.

[133] NYPA, Beckx to McElroy, June 11, 1859.

his relief that the long contest was over.[134] He noted, however, that the cramping clause still remained, and the Archbishop's promise to turn the Xavier church over to the Jesuits was still only a vocal, not a written, one.

In the meanwhile, Hus, too, left New York to go to the Jesuit houses in Canada. By a letter of April 6, 1859, the provincial of the Province of France, acting under the instructions of Beckx, recalled Hus to France and appointed Remigius Tellier as vice-superior.[135] The appointment was only temporary. By a letter of April 16, 1859, William Murphy was appointed superior general of the New York-Canada Mission by the Jesuit general.[136] Murphy, however, was a sick man, and before the end of the year Tellier was once again appointed to the office of superior general of the mission.[137]

During the few months Murphy remained in the office of superior general, things were at a standstill. A report written at the end of November 1859 declared that the situation in New York was exactly as it had been at the beginning of March.[138] It noted that since McElroy had left New York early in March, he had written only once. "It is all we have heard of him and of the affair in these last nine months." But in the interval there had been blessed peace.

During the interval there was brought to maturity at Jesuit headquarters a plan to appoint an official Visitor for all the Jesuit missions and provinces in the United States and Canada. By *Litterae Patentes* of September 20, 1859, the Jesuit general appointed as Visitor one of the outstanding Italian Jesuits, Fr. Felix Sopranis.[139] The new appointee spoke English, and had spent some time in the United States.

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[134] ArchRSJ, Murphy to Beckx, March 22, 1859.

[135] NYPA, Acta consult., April 23, 1859.

[136] The news reached New York on May 7, 1859; NYPA, Acta consult., May 7, 1859.

[137] Tellier's appointment dated from Nov. 7, 1859; *Catalogus Provinciae Franciae, 1861*, p. 86. Murphy was sent South for his health, whence he was recalled in 1861 to be vice-provincial of Missouri. Cf. Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, (3 vol. New York: America Press, 1938) I, 567.

[138] ArchRSJ, Legouais (?), Actual State of Our Relations with the Archbishop, Nov. 27, 1859.

[139] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Sept. 20, 1859.

A final settlement

The Visitor received instructions to put a definite end to the controversy with Archbishop Hughes.[140] The terms of the peace treaty were to be put down in writing. The boundary lines at Fordham were to be drawn so that the trespassing on the college lands would be stopped. The cramping clause was to be revoked. If the Archbishop refused to renounce that clause, Sopranis was to get Hughes' written permission for the Fordham Jesuits to mortgage their property and the prelate's written guarantee that the Jesuits would, if they left Fordham, recover the full amount of the money they invested in St. John's College. The Visitor was further instructed to obtain, in writing, the Archbishop's promise to turn the title of Xavier church over the Jesuits when the law allowed. And he was to see that the Fathers used every means to cultivate good relations with the Archbishop.

Sopranis arrived in New York on October 25, 1859, but went immediately to the Maryland Province, where he began his visitation.[141] Towards the end of November, he interrupted this visitation to return to New York. There, in company with McElroy, he paid a call on Archbishop Hughes. In the interview, the Archbishop proposed that the boundary difficulty at Fordham receive a definite ending through the purchase of the seminary and its lands by the Jesuits.[142]

A few days later, Archbishop Hughes wrote to McElroy to express his pleasure at meeting Sopranis and to renew the offer of the sale of the seminary.[143] He enclosed in the letter the copy of his "Statement of the facts" which he had promised to send to the general, and asked McElroy to forward it to Beckx, together with a covering letter. In his letter to the general, Hughes thanked him for the conference of September 28, 1858, and for his appointment of McElroy to negotiate peace. He declared the settlement was

> satisfactory to me, and, I trust, not humiliating to the Fathers at Fordham. Their mistakes—their erroneous impressions—their hasty measures to vindicate

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[140] ArchRSJ, Notae circa missiones Provinciae Franciae, Sept. ?, 1859.

[141] ArchRSJ, Benedict Sestini, Breve narrazione della visita di Maryland . . . , Aug. (?), 1860. For a time, Sestini acted as Sopranis' socius.

[142] ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, Dec. 16, 1859.

[143] NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, Dec. 11, 1859.

themselves in the estimation of laymen, have all been acknowledged and apologized for.[144]

The Archbishop explained his tardiness in sending the "Statement of the facts" by his unwillingness to send what he knew would be unpleasant reading to the Jesuit general. To Beckx, Hughes repeated his offer to sell the seminary property at Fordham. He declared "it should be an absolute sale, without any conditions whatever. At the same time, with regard to the property already conceded to the Fathers, the conditions might be modified."

To negotiate the sale, the Archbishop proposed McElroy and Sopranis.[145] Apparently the Archbishop had no doubts that the Jesuits would be interested. The implication that through the purchase of the seminary the cramping clause might be cancelled could not but stir the fathers. Nor was the Archbishop mistaken. As soon as he received the letter, the Jesuit general sent instructions to the Visitor to negotiate, with the assistance of McElroy, the proposed sale.[146] The fathers in New York were more than ready to make the purchase; as early as 1856, they had decided that, if the Archbishop made such an offer, they would close with it.[147]

At the end of March 1860, Sopranis reported to the general that he had discussed the matter with the Archbishop. It had been agreed that the Jesuits should purchase the property; only the price remained to be settled.[148] A future meeting had been arranged at which the Archbishop, the Visitor and McElroy would agree on the price to be paid. At this first interview, Sopranis wrote the general, the Archbishop had told him in the greatest secrecy, with the understanding that he would pass on the information to the general, two things: First, that the Archbishop was somewhat displeased that the general did not send direct answers to his letters. This "*delicatus* admodum *homo*," Sopranis noted, thought the general might have adopted this practise, since the Archbishop had sent his letters to Jesuit headquarters through intermediaries. The Visitor believed that the Archbishop would be pacified if the general

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[144] ArchRSJ, Hughes to Beckx, Dec. 12, 1859.
[145] ArchRSJ, McElroy to Beckx, Dec. 16, 1859.
[146] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Jan. 21, 1860.
[147] NYPA, Acta consult., July 7, 1856.
[148] ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, March 31, 1860.

sent him a pleasant note. The second secret was that the prelate wanted Isidore Daubresse to be the first bishop of a new diocese to be created in New York State, and he did not want the general to oppose the nomination of his subject.

To this letter of Sopranis, Beckx wrote that he had sent a letter to the Archbishop; in the letter, however, he had informed Hughes that he would do everything in his power to prevent the nomination of a Jesuit to a bishopric.[149]

Early in April 1860, Sopranis completed his visitation of the Maryland Province, and travelled to New York to begin the visitation of the New York-Canada Mission.[150] About the middle of the month, accompanied by McElroy, he met with the Archbishop and agreed to purchase the seminary lands for the price of $45,000. The Archbishop, at long last, agreed to revoke the cramping clause.

A white elephant?

The consultors of the New York-Canada Mission agreed to the purchase, although they considered the price rather high.[151] In France, Hus raised his voice against the purchase, declaring that the Archbishop was unloading a white elephant, which had been to him "a mountain of expense and an abyss of shame."[152] The Jesuit general forwarded a copy of Hus' letter to the Visitor, with a notation that not too much weight should be given to Hus' opinion.[153] Beckx himself approved the purchase at the agreed price and the concomitant cancellation of the cramping clause.[154] As required by law, the St. John's Board of Trustees sanctioned the purchase.[155] At its meeting, one of the Jesuit trustees moved a resolution, unanimously passed the following:

That this Board cannot separate without placing on record some expression of the strong sense of gratitude which they entertain towards the Most Reverend the Archbishop of New York in return for the fatherly interest which he has

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[149] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, April 27, 1860.

[150] ArchRSJ, Sestini, Breve narrazione.

[151] NYPA, Acta consult., April 17, 1860.

[152] ArchRSJ, Hus to Michael Fessard, S.J., May ?, 1860. Fessard was provincial of the Province of France.

[153] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, June 9, 1860.

[154] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, May 19, 1860.

[155] FUA, Minutes of Board, May 3, 1860.

ever manifested for the welfare of St. John's College,—of which warm interest His Grace has given still further proof in a recent transaction.

The actual transfer of the seminary property to the Jesuits was a rather long and protracted affair.[156] The fathers still had a large portion of their original debt to the Archbishop still unpaid, and the prelate wanted a down payment of $20,000 on the seminary property. A mortgage of $30,000 with private individuals was at length arranged. Finally, the matter was done. The cramping clause was cancelled. The Archbishop received title to the strips of land west of the railroad.[157] And on July 16, 1860, the prelate signed the deed making over the seminary property to the College of St. John.[158] The long conflict over the tenure of the land at Fordham was finished.

In Rome, the general waited impatiently for the news that the matter had been accomplished.[159] At long last, Sopranis was able to inform him that the business was finished.[160] He noted, however, that the Archbishop would not reduce to writing his promise to turn the title of the Church of St. Francis Xavier over to the Jesuits. He urged that the general intercede by a personal letter. Beckx expressed his pleasure that the business had been brought to a successfull conclusion.[161] To avoid any recurrence of questioning of the Jesuit rights to Fordham, he urged Sopranis to secure from the Archbishop any documents that might be the basis for future claims and to destroy them. This request was put to the Archbishop. In September 1860, the prelate did, in fact, turn over a number of documents to Tellier with a request that they be destroyed.[162] On

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[156] NYPA, Tellier (?), Historical sketch of the transact. of the Sem., 1860.

[157] FUA, Minutes of the Boards, June 29, 1860, authorized this transfer. At a meeting later in the year, Starrs, obviously under instructions of the Archbishop, moved that Augustus Thebaud, the new president of St. John's, consult with the Archbishop about the fancy-fence, still not erected by the railroad; *ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1860. Thebaud did so, and reported that the railroad would at long last erect the fence in the Spring of 1862; *ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1861.

[158] ArchRSJ, Deed of sale of St. Joseph's Seminary, July 16, 1860.

[159] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Aug. 11, 1860.

[160] ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, July 28, 1860.

[161] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Aug. 28, 1860.

[162] NYPA, Tellier, Statement, March 2, 1861. Tellier did destroy them. But first he made copies in a note-book still preserved in NYPA. A study of this note book shows that, with the exception of the private deed confirming the

hearing this news, the general expressed his relief; he felt that now the problem was forever ended.[163]

Title of St. Francis Xavier Church

The question of the title of the Church of St. Francis Xavier still remained. Sopranis, however, declared that both he and McElroy were confident that the Archbishop would turn over the deed to the church before the end of 1861.[164] To the Visitor's suggestion that the general write to request the title from the Archbishop, Beckx answered that he would wait and see what Hughes' reactions were to the letter he had sent him to express his gratification at the advent of peace and the settlement of the problem of Fordham.[165]

It would appear that the general did not, at that time, request the title from the Archbishop. But in the summer of 1861, the question was discussed by Hughes and McElroy. In answer to a request from the Archbishop, McElroy listed his reason why the prelate should turn the title to the 16th Street Church over to the Jesuits.[166] The Jesuits feared that one of Hughes' successors as Archbishop of New York might replace them by secular priests; all the other Jesuit churches in America, as far as McElroy's information went, were possessions of the Society; the grant of the church's deed would increase Jesuit devotion to Hughes' service, and would be a recognition by the Archbishop of past services. Finally, McElroy requested the transfer of the title as a personal favor to himself, and as a consolation to the Jesuit general. He urged that if the title could not now be legally transferred, the Archbishop would give a written promise to the Jesuits to the effect that he would give them the title as soon as he could.

The prelate answered that the Jesuits already had a solemn document guaranteeing their rights in the 16th Street Church.[167] He further stated:

I never had occasion to require the title to the Church of St. Francis Xavier. It

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ninth clause and signed in July 1845 by Boulanger, all the documents exist, in original or in copy, in one or other Jesuit archive.

[163] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Oct. 8, 1860.

[164] ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, Oct. 21, 1860.

[165] ArchRSJ, Beckx to Sopranis, Dec. 14, 1860.

[166] NYPA, McElroy to Hughes, Aug. 24, 1861.

[167] NYPA, Hughes to McElroy, Aug. 30, 1861.

was mine before the Jesuits moved to that neighborhood. It was not by their consent, but by their agreement and at their request, so far as the pastorship is concerned.

Nor could Hughes see his way clear to make a written promise of a future transfer. He ended by warning the Jesuits, "if they were wise they would be, for the present at least, quiet on this topic." The Archbishop's warning was heeded. Although in the Spring of 1862, Sopranis once more urged the Jesuit general to write to Hughes a request for a transfer of the title,[168] the suggestion was not followed.

In the course of the years following the reestablishment of peace with the Archbishop, relations between the prelate and the Jesuits became cordial. Hughes once more visited the Jesuit schools and presided at the St. John's commencements. In the Spring of 1863, for example, he was present at an academic exhibition at the College of St. Francis Xavier, and in an address to the audience expressed warm appreciation of the Jesuit school, regretting there were not another ten such colleges in his city.[169]

In the Autumn of 1863, Father Beckx decided the time had come to send his request to the Archbishop for the title of Xavier church. Hughes was, at the time, on what proved to be his deathbed. Among the priests who came to pay their respects to the sick prelate were Pierre De Smet, the famous Jesuit missionary to the Indians, Felix Sopranis and John McElroy. To the general, Sopranis reported that the Archbishop had mentioned the general's request for the title of the 16th Street Church both to himself and to De Smet.[170] But to neither had the prelate given his decision. McElroy, however, reported that the Archbishop

said not a word to Fr. Sopranis who called, nor to the other Fathers on the subject. When I called, he told me at once and that he would make a Deed of the property &c., and that I might write to that effect to Rev. Fr. General, which I did.[171]

Though the Archbishop died before he could carry his resolution into effect, his successor, John McCloskey, was aware of Hughes'

[168] ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, May 14, 1862.

[169] ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, March 21, 1863.

[170] ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, Dec. 2, 1863.

[171] Woodstock Archives, McElroy to Angelo Paresce, S.J., Dec. 12, 1863. Paresce was provincial of the Maryland Province.

desire, and as soon as he was possessed of the see of New York, he transferred the title of the church to the Jesuits.[172]

And so, as the great Archbishop awaited his end, he sealed the peace between the Jesuits and himself by the grant of the last outstanding claim of the fathers. It was with regret that the Jesuits heard of the passing of their quondam antagonist.[173]

So good men fought

It cannot be said that the history of the conflict between the Archbishop and the Jesuits is an edifying tale, or shows its chief characters in a flattering light. It was a struggle, not of principles, but of personalities. And the key to the struggle was the character of the great Archbishop of New York.

John Hughes towers above all other men in the history of the American Church in the mid 19th century. The Church then needed, above all things, a dominant leader, strong willed, resolute, inflexible. There came a man, sent from God, whose name was John. The times called for a great man, and a great man appeared. Hughes was not a man to take half-measures. Bishop Dubois was ailing and feeble; Hughes shelved him without ceremony. Trustees needed to be curbed; Hughes smashed them. Nativists threatened to attack his churches; Hughes promised that if a church was destroyed, New York, as a second Moscow, would go up in flames. It is the measure of the man that no one even suggested that he was bluffing. "I will suffer no man in my diocese that I cannot control. I will either put him down, or he shall put me down." Orestes Brownson did not question Hughes' claim. And the Jesuits, to their sorrow, learned its truth. Strong, self-confident, autocratic, Hughes had the defects of a dominant personality. He could not admit he had made a mistake. He could not brook opposition. He could not tolerate a dissenting opinion. If documentary evidence contradicted his statements, the documents were in error. His view was truth, and it must prevail. Prevail it did.

Before such a man, the actions, or rather the evasions, of the first

[172] ArchRSJ, Joseph Loyzance, S.J., to Beckx, Dec. 19, 1864. Loyzance was Rector of Xavier. See the documents in John Cardinal Farley, *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*, 248 ff.

[173] ArchRSJ, Sopranis to Beckx, Jan. 4, 1864; Beckx to Sopranis, Jan. 17, 1864.

Jesuit superior general in New York are understandable. In the first years in New York, Boulanger tested the temper of the Archbishop. Thereafter, he avoided conflict with Hughes. His fellow Jesuits considered him weak; he was more probably wise. Prudence is still the better part of valor.

But Hus strode into the arena, panoplied for war. He did not wait to measure his opponent, nor consider well the ground he chose to fight on. His maladroit raising of dead issues made impossible, considering the character of the Archbishop, a conciliatory settlement of the problems the Jesuits had. His rigidity in pressing the Jesuit claims was met by an equal inflexibility, Hughes being what he was, on the part of the Archbishop. The results should have been foreseen. Battered and bruised, the superior general was forced to retire. His cause may have been just, but he was not the equal of the great Archbishop.

Even the peacemaker does not show up well in the story. McElroy is one of the greatest priests America has had. He used the only method possible to placate the Archbishop—complete and abject surrender. It would be understandable if McElroy had adopted that course as a matter of policy. But he believed it was a matter of justice. Blindly, he accepted the word of his friend, and rejected the testimony of his brothers. His dependance, almost sycophantic, on Hughes does McElroy no credit.

So good men fought. It was a bitter struggle. But when peace came, the contestants, as good men, renewed friendship. The fight left no permanent scars—a testimony to the soundness of both sides. Hughes was always a redoubtable opponent, but always a good bishop and a good friend. In peace, the Jesuits secured what they had failed to obtain through war. And the Archbishop and the Jesuits, having made peace with one another, went like brothers to offer their sacrifice at the altar of the Lord.

AN ADDRESS AT BELLARMINE COLLEGE

books and Bellarmine, purists and perfectionists

James Brodrick, S.J.

In the summer of 1967, Bellarmine College in Plattsburgh, New York, formally ceased operation as a Jesuit house of formation after a fifteen year career. Originally constructed as an exclusive resort hotel at the turn of the century, it was purchased by the New York Province of the Society of Jesus and in July, 1952, was opened as a temporary philosophate. When Loyola Seminary was completed in 1956, Bellarmine became the second novitiate-juniorate of New York, and, with the creation of the Buffalo Province in 1960, became the upstate house of formation. Ultimately, the high cost of maintenance and the decreasing number of vocations made its continued upkeep impracticable. In 1964, the juniors moved to Shadowbrook in New England and, in the Spring of 1967, the novices were transferred to Columbiere College in Clarkston, Michigan.

During its brief history as a Jesuit house, Bellarmine has served four American provinces: New York, Buffalo, New England, and Maryland. It has welcomed many distinguished lecturers to the North Country but few, if any, were more welcome than Fr. James Brodrick of the English Province, a man known to his audiences for his biographies of Robert Bellarmine, Peter Canisius, Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola, and for his histories of the early Society. After receiving the fourth annual Campion Award of the Catholic Book Club "for longtime eminence in the field of Catholic letters," Fr. Brodrick traveled from New York to Plattsburgh to give the following informal talk to the Bellarmine Community on May 17, 1958. We reproduce it here to commemorate the closing of this Jesuit house and to share with a wider audience, the thoughts of a renowned Jesuit scholar, the biographer of the community's patron.

Just before I came along to your fascinating college, one of the editors of the magazine *America* said to me, "Have you seen that article about something that happened at Bellarmine?" And I said, "No, I haven't. The issue of *America* is not yet out. It comes out on the twenty-fourth of May." And he said, "Oh, well, we'll have to give you a preview." So he gave me this preview, and it was a delightful article on an experience that you had here. "We Meet the Icons,"* I think it was called. And it was charmingly written, and was a very moving occasion. I was quite thoroughly delighted with it, and I felt, "I'm going somewhere good," when I read that article.

Now, I thought I would tell you some things that I myself have experienced in this writing career which I drifted into without any will of my own, or indeed without too much will of superiors, either. It just kind of happened. I "growed" to be a writer, like Topsy in the book. And it was all a very strange world to me at first, and I couldn't get the hang of it, and the only method I could devise for writing a chapter was to write it about five or six times, over and over and over and over again. And to get it eventually to slide into the next chapter so that there would be a sort of continuation and a reasonable amount of artistic merit about the process, but it was a very dreadful one. Those two volumes on Bellarmine published in 1928 were written six times over, first in longhand in the ordinary way, and then typewritten with two fingers by me, and then when the chapter was finished, torn up, and started again. I had no facility at all in just rushing along with words, and I wonder whether Shakespeare ever had, whether his "Woodnotes Wild" were like that at all, or whether he didn't sweat with a towel around his head to give him inspiration far into the night, choosing his words. Because, sometimes, as you know (better than I do), he was careless: "To cleanse the stuffed bosom of its perilous stuff"[!] Would one of you say that? Well, William said it.

And the next thing I discovered, through hard labor and pain and tears, blood and sweat, and all the rest of it, was that if you are to write well you must know a great deal more than the subject you are writing about. You must be interested all around that

* Robert Muldoon, "We Meet the Icons," *America* 99 (1958) 257-58.—Ed.

subject, I believe. Because when you read the really great writers, the essayists, the biographers, the historians, you find that their art lies so much in analogy. They draw analogies from all quarters: chemistry, physics, and science of every description. They work out beautifully. And then the way that they glorify a very common word. The word "blanket" doesn't have very much poetry in it—the thing you put over you at night; you'll find it hard to make poetry of that. Then suddenly it comes: "Heaven peeped through the blanket of the dark to cry: Hold, Hold!" And there's your poem. Shakespeare at work. And it's so often the case. The real artist, the man with a dash of inspiration (no, no, I suppose every artist must have that or he wouldn't be an artist), he finds this analogy, or he finds the right word to go with the right adjective. "The whole excited town glowed like a shy, delicious noun that some great poet made to live at least beside its adjective." You get the two together, and then you get a thrill of the heart when you read the passage.

Well, I'm only an artist very much at secondhand by sheer slogging, and sometimes remembering brilliant things that other artists have said, perhaps stealing a bit, too, on the side. And there's a good deal of bluff about it. But I have found that as a principle you must read widely, not only in your own subject but in all sorts of subjects. You must have a broad mind and a willingness to take in all sorts of knowledge that comes along. If I ever see anything bright and to the point, I always make a note. Sometimes I have to hunt for weeks to find that blessed note, because I never learned how to file.

Filers and perfectionists

Fr. Herbert Thurston, who was really a brilliant man and a very great scholar, didn't file either, and he played the same game. He used to hunt and hunt through his room. He had a good memory, and he knew that he had copied out a particular note at the British Museum sometime or other. Where had it got to? I used to help him to try to find it. His desk was a sight, and sometimes right down at the bottom he'd come across what he wanted. He never learned to type, though somebody had presented him with a prehistoric typewriter made mostly of wood. All his countless articles and numerous books were written out in ink in his own hand.

Well, sometimes the people who do all the filing write nothing

at all. They are so brilliant at this filing that they make it an end in itself. Perhaps you've noticed that, too. I know we have a number of them in England, and you couldn't get finer filers in the world, but not so much as a pamphlet in the way of production. Well, we are all made different. A man who files gets satisfaction out of it.

Then there is the other person, the perfectionist, the purist, the man who wants to have everything just so, dot every *i* and cross every *t*; it can't be done in this imperfect world. And so they become stultified. I met an archivist, and he was a jolly good one, a Benedictine monk, a convert. He had been a parson. Before he became a Catholic, he had been through three of the county archives in England, and he really had an extraordinary knowledge. He could have written a fine book on what he had found there, which would have given the lie to most of the stuff on the sixteenth century you find in history books. He was a great worker, this man. So, I said to him, "Why don't you write, Father, why don't you write?" And his answer: he looked at me in astonishment, and said "Write? What about the other forty-five counties in England whose archives I've never looked through?" You might find some fact there that would contradict the archives of some other county —Worcestershire, etc. which he had been through. And so, never a line from him. I doubt if he ever wrote even an article, and yet his knowledge was formidable, and it's a pity, that! That we should get all cluttered up with so much knowledge that we cannot write.

The great Lord Acton himself, you know, was of that persuasion. He knew so much that he couldn't get it out. Because whatever he said, he knew that there was a contradictory fact that he could match against it, and he said, "What's the good?" Wait, and wait, and wait until all the knowledge is there. Well, it never will be, because this is an imperfect and extremely complicated world, and the business of history, of writing what human beings have done, thought, and so on, must always be just partial, provisional. You can't ever get the final truth. And you're foolish to want to get it. Be content with what you can manage, and you can manage quite a lot. When someone comes along later on, and proves that all your views were wrong, so much the worse for him, but not for you. You'll be dead and won't mind. Then new views will come along, and in their day, they will be refuted, too.

As for the things I have written myself, I know perfectly well that a lot of it won't last, because it is provisional. Not so much the documents, because they are straight from the archives in Rome, worked over by these almost martyrs, you might call them, the writers at the Curia. There are about twenty of them, and I consider it's about the hardest worked team in the Society. They have no let-up at all. They haven't even got an armchair. They have nothing, just a grind, grind, grind over dreadful documents of the 16th century which are sometimes to my eye, anyway, completely illegible. But they use the infrared methods, and so on, and they decipher them extraordinarily well.

A man with feeling

Take, for instance, our own St. Ignatius' *Diario*, that salvaged scrap of an extraordinary spiritual diary that he made for his own eye alone. Well, you look at a photograph of a page of it and see what you can make of it. It's just one great blot, and yet they deciphered it, and, of course, it's been an absolute revelation to the world of what a profound mystic our father was, and what a marvelous and lovable man, too. It gives us a new appreciation, for instance, of our rules and *Constitutions* to know how he wept over them when he was writing them, how he prayed to God for days on end over a tiny little point. As we know, he had the gift of tears in too great abundance, because it nearly blinded him, and he had to stop saying Mass as his eyes were giving out. He couldn't think of God at all without the tears beginning to flow. I suppose you would say he was the saint who shed more tears than any saint in history. That's a remarkable fact in itself, because he is so often considered a monolith, "the man without feeling." And yet he is so different, so profound in his feelings, so lovable in all kinds of ways.

Since I wrote that half of a life, *The Pilgrim Years*, I've got to love him passionately, and pray to him with all my might in the big and little emergencies of every day. When I get into difficulties connected with the writer's trade, I turn to your own dear patron and say, "Saint Roberto, will you kindly take this over?" And he does, too. I counted, once upon a time, laboriously, the number of words in the *Book of the Controversies* alone. It came, roughly, to two million. Well, that locust flight of words never got on top of

Robert; that's what I like about him. He was always kind of standing easy to his labors, and he labored like a giant.

You remember, maybe, that story of him, when an Englishman and Protestant came to pay him a visit. This man had come to Rome to see the monuments, he said, and above all, the living monuments, and, chiefest of all, Bellarmine, who was, really, very celebrated in England in the sixteenth century. He came (he was a brave man because the priests had gone round asking whether everyone had made their Easter duties. This scared the good Fynes Moryson who had a horse made ready for instant flight but he was determined not to leave Rome till he had seen Bellarmine). Well, Bellarmine's lay brother attendant told him that his master was out walking in the fields. That is typical again of St. Robert. He loved the fields and the flowers and the trees and all natural things. His favorite text was, "My God, Thou hast made me to be glad with Thy works." And we know, too, that he was a very glad, gay person; Bishop Camus, that sort of Boswell of St. Francis de Sales, knew Robert and reported of him that he was of a disposition very gay. He was known for it, and this Fynes Moryson noticed it as well. He said, "He didn't look a bit serious." The way he received Moryson! The way he said to him, as he was leaving, that he would be welcome back any time. And he had given instructions to his brother, who attended on him, to bring him in immediately, hereafter, even though he might be in the middle of some dreadful bit of the *Controversies* or some other book. It didn't matter what. He had the power of putting things to one side and remembering that the first interests of human beings are other human beings.

All the kind of learned work that we do is very, very subsidiary to this greatest of all works of helping and loving one another. And Robert showed it in such a shining fashion. He never refused anybody, never in his whole career. People were pouring in on him all the time just out of curiosity to see what a wonderful man was like, and to get information from him. Students from Louvain used to write to him and say, "Could you look up something for us?" And off he'd trot to the Vatican Library to look up some little point which this man wanted for the thesis he was writing. Well, this was when he was at the top of his fame. He treated the community so well when he was a superior, that he had to be checked by his

provincial, who reprimanded him, "You mustn't spoil those fathers." He used to have musical evenings, and he wrote the madrigals, both words and music, himself. He was quite a musician and he wrote poetry and he was a true humanist in the best Christian sense of the word.

He was a man of wide interests, and the book that our friends, the Anglicans, love best is his *De ascensione mentis ad Deum.* They have translated it, the Anglicans themselves, and published it by a non-Catholic publishing firm with an introduction by the biggest scientist that the Anglican clergy produced. The scientist spoke in the most warm terms about St. Robert, and I remember just a few words that he said. One of them was that Robert did not naturalize our prayer, but sanctifies and spiritualizes our work, which is precisely what we are all trying to do all the time, to turn the work into prayer.

A strong smell of turpentine

And it's not so easy. Above all when you're writing a book and that, because inevitably when you lie down to try to get a bit of rest at night great thoughts will arise, as they used to do for St. Ignatius. He treated them as temptations of the devil, because he knew he ought to go to sleep then. And these thoughts will arise, alas. I get them myself, and I always have a pencil and paper by my bed, but when you read the stuff you've written late at night, in the morning you're horrified and tear it up at once as rubbish. I think it was William James that tells in his *Varieties of Religious Experience* about a philosopher who also kept a pencil and a piece of paper by his bed, and in a dream this man had penetrated at last to the innermost secret of the universe, and in his dream he picked up the pencil and paper from the side (he was still asleep), and he wrote down this marvelous secret that would electrify the whole world. In the morning he remembered the dream when he awoke properly, and put his hand out to reach eagerly for the piece of paper, and on it he read these words: "The whole thing was permeated by a strong smell of turpentine." That was the secret of the universe!

And then inevitably you're going to get into a bit of trouble: censors, reviewers, all sorts of book-folk who take an ambivalent view of writers. Not hostile, but they're wary of them. And some-

times, it's a critic. I had myself quite a fight with a critic who took me up on the subject of a mosquito, which he insisted was really a flea. That kind of thing happens, and it can be a bit amusing at the time, but it also wastes time.

Another thing that always struck me and impressed me really deeply is the necessity of not being too much of a specialist. If you become too much of a specialist, a perfectionist, you become too dehydrated, dull, and uninteresting. Also, when you get on in years, you've only got the one old subject to interest you, and by that time, you'll have got past it, and have no subject. There's an awful instance of it in connection with a man you are going to hear a good deal about next year. That was Charles Darwin, because next year, 1959, is the centenary of the publication of the *Origin of Species,* and there will be a great hullabaloo about Darwin. Darwin was a singularly fine type of man; I always think of him as a saint of science.

Well, time went on, and he began to write his *Origin of Species,* and a change came over him. He turned, first of all, into a dreadful fundamentalist, and gave up reading the Old Testament altogether, which he had read devoutly every morning during the voyage of the *Beagle*: the Tower of Babel and Jonah and his whale stuck in his gullet and he wrote "That kind of rubbish! Who could ever believe it?" But that wasn't the worst of it. As time went on, he found a great change in his own inner nature. He was twenty years writing this *Origin of Species,* and then, after 1876, when he was sixty-seven years old, he wrote in his little *Autobiography* (it's a very revealing, very honest document):

> Up to the age of thirty, or beyond it, poetry of many kinds, such as the works of Milton, Gray, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelly, gave me great pleasure, and even as a schoolboy, I took intense delight in Shakespeare, especially in the historical plays. I have also said that formerly pictures gave me considerable, and music very great delight. But now for many years I cannot endure to read a line of poetry: I have tried lately to read Shakespeare, and found it so intolerably dull that it nauseated me. I have also almost lost any taste for pictures or music. . . . My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts, but why this should have caused the atrophy of that part of the brain alone, on which the higher tastes depend, I cannot conceive. A man with a mind more highly organized or better constituted than mine, would not I suppose have thus suffered; and if I had to live my life again I would have made a

rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once every week; for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied could thus have been kept alive through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature.

That's a great warning to the specialists not to specialize too much, but to have other interests alongside and not to forget the aesthetic part of our make-up—the poetry and the music and the art. I do feel strongly that that's terribly important. And nowadays, in our schools in England, and I'm quite sure in the schools in America, too, they do stress art and music. It's not easy to get small boys to appreciate classical music. Well, you can lead them up by the more popular kind of music, and eventually some of them will really rise to the real thing. Then they've got something that will last them for life and bring them happiness in all sorts of circumstances. The same way with regard to poetry. I'm a firm believer myself in making boys learn by heart.

For centenaries and canonizations

And so, to go on from this point in a rather spiritual vein. The writing of books is not pleasant. I would avoid it like poison, if it were possible to avoid it. But after a year or two, people expect you to produce something. Then, I leave it off as long as I can, and then I make a rush at it, and get it out in time. But this time, you see, I'm in a very privileged position. Nearly everything I wrote before always had to be written to a date, the centenary in the offing, or someone was going to be canonized or doctored, and you have to have a book ready for that occasion, and every time that happened I spent about five or six months in the hospital after, with a break-down as a result of this rush of work. But now, there's no centenary for this half of the life of St. Ignatius, so it should be easy. And that's pleasant enough.

But the work, as for instance at Campion House in New York, where they issue *America*, they have a hard time of it. No sooner is one issue out, with an incredible amount of hard work put into it, than another has to be prepared. It is most tiresome work. And they have to stay up late at night. When press day comes, they might not get to bed till three or four o'clock in the morning. I found that they were a very devoted, wonderful group of men, and

they were serving God, because that kind of work, as in the case of St. Robert Bellarmine, was a very noble service of God. Robert must have hated writing those *Controversies!* He was by nature such a gentle and pacific person.

His spirit, by the way, will watch over the men here, and help them not to overspecialize, to be too great purists like that famous Professor Twist:

> I give you now Professor Twist,
> A conscientious scientist.
>
> .....
>
> Camped on a tropic riverside,
> One day he missed his loving bride
> She had, the guide informed him later,
> Been eaten by an alligator.
> Professor Twist could not but smile,
> "You mean," he said, "a crocodile."

Poor Mrs. Twist!

Robert, too, would teach us all not to let our work get on top of us; to keep it a bit, you know, at elbow's distance, and to keep that spot in our lives where it doesn't intrude at all, where only God can intrude, as was, indeed, so much the case with him. He led a life of marvellous recollection, considering the activities that he was pursuing all the time. He was always at the disposal of any chance visitor, and that in itself is proof of sanctity.

Question period

What's going to make the Church go ahead? Saints, all the time. And we know that there are saints by the score among our own fathers here in America, and some of the fathers in England, too; and they won't ever be canonized. But we want the official cannonizable type as well. As Siegfried Sassoon, the convert poet, said, "Saints are trumps," even if they do nothing but pray behind their cloister walls. And they will always be trumps, and they will always win out on the enemy, totalitarian, Communist, whatever he may be, because their final trump card is love, and the other only has hate. Love always wins in the end.

JESUITS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

A common consciousness of the problematic

PETER ARRUPE, S.J.

In 1949, John B. Janssens, who was at the time general of the Society of Jesus, directed a long and moving letter to the Jesuits of the entire world. In it he exhorted them to open their eyes to the tremendous social injustices at work in the contemporary world and to fight for the establishment of a new order, that is, for a just and really human one. This effort, more than works of aid or good will—not to discount their importance and relevance—was to give Christian inspiration to the very structure of human relations. It meant study and action, things that for him specifically made up the social apostolate and underlined its tragic urgency. The situation in Latin America took up Father General's attention in a special way. He wrote to the provincials on different occasions urging them to give first place to the social apostolate even at the cost of closing some high school or university. He sent a special visitor and succeeded in laying the foundations of CIAS (Centro de Investigación y de Acción Social) *in many provinces, assigning not a few priests to special studies in the social sciences. Unfortunately Fr. Janssens' letters were exclusively for "internal use" and never got to the public at large.*

Introduction and document translated by Gaspar F. LoBiondo, S.J., from *Mensaje* 16 (March-April, 1967) 126-30.

Following the path of his predecessor in a very clear way, the present general, Peter Arrupe, has just sent a letter (Dec. 12, 1966) to the Latin American provincials in which he reaffirms with no less firmness and courage the outstanding place which the social apostolate must occupy in Jesuit ministries. But this time the general wanted his voice to be heard publicly. A large part of his letter appeared in Informations Catholiques Internationales *and in* A. B. C. *of Madrid. This gives his document the quality of being a consciously assumed commitment made not only before the Jesuits, but also before all those who in one way or another are fighting for more truth, justice, and brotherhood in the world. This, then, is certainly something new in the history of the Society. It marks the felicitous beginning of a stage that can have transcendent implications.*

Given the importance which Fr. Arrupe's letter has in itself as well as the special importance which it actually has as a public document, we have decided to publish it integrally. The orientations and motivations that are given in this letter are far-reaching. Through the Jesuits of Latin America they reach the Jesuits of the entire world and above all those who are working in the Third World. And insofar as the problem of apostolic priorities is clearly brought out, they are of universal interest.

As everyone knows, the first meeting of the Centers of Social Investigation and Action (CIAS) of Latin America was held in Lima from July 25 to 29, 1966, and was attended by directors and some of the members of the Centers. The importance I gave to this congress was such that I wanted it to be held at all costs, despite obstacles and difficulties. And I did not hesitate to have the Latin American assistants represent me. I also decided that the German assistant and some father from the Social Sciences Institute of the Gregorian University should be present to give a broader basis and more extensive perspectives to the deliberations. The purpose of the meeting was that the fathers might know one another, analyze together what they have done to date, create together a common conscious-

ness of the problematic as well as viable solutions in the social area, and that, as a result of their work, they might present me with their conclusions and responses.

The fathers who met thought it profitable to cut down the prepared agenda and to concentrate on the definition of CIAS which would crystallize its nature and function as a specialized organ of the Society, dedicated exclusively to the apostolate of social justice. For the great majority felt that the lack of a common awareness of such a definition had been largely the cause of misunderstandings as much among the members of CIAS as in their relations with superiors.

After five days of intensive work, they formulated the *Conclusions of the Lima Congress.* Based on the experience and reflection of everyone, these conclusions presented, after a prologue, the fundamental objective, program, internal organization, and autonomy of CIAS, and lastly, the necessity of a favorable environment. As a specific proposal, subject to the approval of Father General, they asked for the creation of a Latin American Council of CIAS (CLACIAS) which would replace the present Secretariat and be formed by various regional coordinators and an executive secretary. This new group would officially carry out the function of providing technical information and advice for the provincials, for Father General's Council (now being formed) and, finally, for Father General himself. The congress suggested the names of those who might serve as executive secretary and as regional directors.

All these conclusions were submitted to me in one document. Another document entitled "Adoption of an Official Position of the Society with Regard to Social Conflict in Latin America," requested of Father General a declaration which would go beyond the documents exclusively for Jesuits.

Both documents were sent to the fathers provincial of Latin America, to some former provincials, and to some *periti*, as soon as they were received in Rome, so that these men might give me their opinions. Then, after I received the replies, studied them, consulted with the assistants, and asked for light from the Lord of all, I decided to promulgate the *Statutes of the CIAS of Latin America* along with the document attached to this letter. These *Statutes*, which substantially incorporate all the conclusions of the Lima Congress, are effective with their promulgation.

Specific points

Now I will pass on to comment briefly on some points in the *Statutes* which, judging from the responses received, could cause difficulties. Afterwards I will discuss the adoption of policy.

1) In the prologue of the *Statutes*, a dynamic selection of texts taken almost verbatim from Vatican II's *Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World* is presented. These quotations underline the necessity of change of mentality and of structures aimed at correcting "The scandal of excessive economic and social inequalities."[1] Since these inequalities can not be reduced to mere monetary recompense for work, they cannot disappear by simply increasing the amount of recompense, for example by increasing salaries.[2] Father General Janssens did not hesitate to denounce all these inequalities as "contrary to the Gospel" and "intolerable."[3] The Council, moreover, terms them "contrary to social justice, equality, human dignity, and social and international peace."[4]

2) Thus the fundamental objective of CIAS is justified.[5] It was enunciated by the 29th General Congregation and confirmed by the 31st, when it demanded that we spare no efforts in establishing a just public social order.[6] Though the primary mission of the Church and of the Society certainly tends to unite man with his Lord and Creator, it is no less certain that God has not merely desired to sanctify men individually, in an isolated way, as it were, but he has also established men in a society of temporal and interpersonal relationships which might acknowledge and serve him. It is also clear that the Church has a task in using the light and

[1] *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes)* in *Documents of Vatican II* ed. Walter M. Abbot, S.J., (New York: Herder, 1966) 29, p. 227. Hereafter cited as *GS*.

[2] *Mater et Magistra* 82-83. Hereafter cited as *MM*.

[3] *Acta Romana* XIII 874. Hereafter cited as *AR*.

[4] *GS*, 29.

[5] In accordance with the Lima Congress conclusions and the CIAS *Statutes* already approved by Father General, "the fundamental objective of CIAS (and consequently of the Social Apostolate) is the change of mentality and social structures into a sense of social justice, preferably in the area of *promoción popular* in order to make possible 'a greater dedication, participation, and responsibility' on all levels of human life." Cf. *Congregatio Generalis XXXI, De Apostolatu Sociali.*

[6] *AR*, XI, 38-40. Cf. *Congregatio Generalis XXXI. De Apostolatu Sociali.*

energies which flow from her primary religious mission and that these qualities are suitable for the temporal structuring of society.[7] Furthermore, it is an undeniable fact that the change of temporal structures as such, with respect to secular activity, is a job proper to the laity, while our task is centered rather on a change of mentality. We cannot forget, however, that the same secular activities are not exclusively the laity's.[8] I therefore urge fathers provincial to reflect once more on this duty of humanizing and personalizing society, and of making this understood clearly even to those Jesuits who do not belong to the CIAS so that no one will block this seemingly less sacerdotal endeavor but that everyone may cooperate with it in whatever way he is able.

3) Since the CIAS program and its procedures for social action have been judged adequate by everyone, I will simply underline here the procedure of "seminars of preferably long duration," up to one month, and of an intensive nature, such as for six hours a day.[9] The experience of different regions has proved that when they are organized in a suitable way, they turn out to have an unsuspected efficacy.

4) The organization of CIAS offers no great difficulty. I simply ought to point out that, although circumstances do not always permit the superior to be a member of CIAS, it will always be indispensable that he have a social sensitivity to cooperate wholeheartedly with the members. With regard to the financing of CIAS, the ideal is obviously that CIAS, as an autonomous community, support itself by means of the particular work of its members rather

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[7] *GS*, 42.

[8] *GS*, 43.

[9] The CIAS program is "faithful to the present magisterium of the Church, following the episcopal directives and confronting social doctrines with the historical situation as it is studied by means of scientific disciplines: 1) to contribute to the doctrinal elaboration of Christian inspiration in structuring Latin American society; 2) to elaborate, teach, and make known models of social progress and development in collaboration with other organs and groups, including international ones; 3) to form, stimulate, and orient persons who may be considered effective agents of social change; 4) to act as moderator for the Society and, if they should ask, also for the clergy as well as for public and private movements and institutions in their social action apostolates; and, besides, to encourage works and movements.

than by means of alms. Nevertheless, until the group is formed and established in its activities, it will normally need the help of the province and its benefactors for perhaps two or three years. I hope to be able to arrive at setting up a Center for the Promotion of World Social Justice here. One of its functions would be to cooperate in the financing of CIAS. Of course, we have to avoid the type of situation in our CIAS which would make it impossible for it to function as such in its own specialized way. The fathers provincial who consider the number of specialists required for CIAS, are justifiably concerned, above all in provinces where ample personnel is lacking. But I believe that we ought not easily excuse ourselves from making the effort to create at least a common CIAS with the collaboration of several neighboring provinces if there is no other viable solution. With respect to this detail and also the possibility both of combining CIAS during their period of formation as well as of transferring men who are suited for the investigation and action of other CIAS activities, I would like detailed information both from the provincials as well as from the Latin American Council of CIAS.

5) The paragraph concerning the favorable setting which should surround CIAS includes a point which has aroused clear-cut differences of opinion among the fathers provincial. Some felt that it was not only desirable but even necessary whenever possible to allow a member of CIAS to be a province consultor. On the other hand there were others who judged that this "preference" given to CIAS was not justified because there are also other specialized groups which could call for similar representation. This second argument however is inaccurate. It puts the term "technical work" with reference to CIAS (whose orientation is towards social justice and equality) on the same level as "technical work" whose importance and efficiency is undebatable but whose content and moral repercussions can not be compared with that of social justice. Of course, a member of CIAS who is appointed province consultor (something which is to be hoped for) is not a consultor as "representative of the CIAS." Naturally he will take into consideration both the problems of CIAS and those of the rest of the province. But he will try to see them in terms of an objective hierarchy of values against the background of social justice. We have to admit that we have not

gone very far in giving to social problems the place that corresponds to them in the hierarchy of values of the Society of Jesus. In general we have fallen short of this. I cannot help but recall Father General Janssens' eloquent firmness when he begged for "social sensitivity" in the Society. Here are his own words:

> . . . since the majority [of Jesuits] have come from families of an economically comfortable class . . . few have been capable of an experiential understanding of the type of life lived by the day laborer, the farmer, the office worker and the maid or janitor. We ought to realize what it means to be humiliated all one's life; to live in the lowest social situation; to be forgotten or looked down on by many; not to be able to be seen at public functions for lack of clothing and proper education; to be aware that one is being used as a means for another's attaining wealth; to see even one's daily bread and one's future in constant jeopardy; to have to risk one's health, dignity and honesty in some work that is either beneath or beyond one's capacities; to find oneself without work for days and months and to feel tortured by inactivity and necessity; to be unable to provide a normal education for one's children and to have to expose them to wandering around the streets, picking up diseases and living in misery; to have to mourn the death of one's children because they didn't have proper medical attention; never to enjoy the psychological or physical repose that is proper to man and to see at the same time all around, that those for whom one is working are enjoying riches, comforts to the point of superfluity, that they are pursuing liberal studies, dedicating themselves to the arts, and are achieving praise, honors and triumphs. . . . Let the Jesuits be aware that they are among the privileged people of their countries as opposed to the miserably unfortunate people.[10]

In the light of these lines of Father General Janssens, describing the present inhuman social inequalities and in the light of his other similar writings, I invite the fathers provincial and their consultors to examine whether they have really used the proper hierarchy of values in considering the urgency of the various apostolic activities of their provinces.

6) Concerning the new Latin American Council of CIAS (CLACIAS), the provincials rightfully wanted those future characteristics of this Council to be explained, all of which they approved in principle as most useful. As is evident in its *Statutes*, the function of CLACIAS, excluding all jurisdiction, consists of informing the provincials and the general (and/or his consultors for social justice) concerning the needs, viable remedies, conflicts, etc., connected with the work of the social apostolate and of the CIAS,

[10] *AR*, XI, 714.

and of co-ordinating the combined action of CIAS organizing intercommunication and mutual help, and facilitating the interaction of the different specialized activities. Since, of course, this informative function is an official one, each member of CLACIAS is authorized in his region to ask for or to receive whatever reports will be necessary or helpful for the carrying out of his work. They can discuss these reports among themselves in order to present a more solidly founded point of view to the general and the provincials. The executive secretary's special function and characteristics are very similar to those of CLACIAS and of the regional co-ordinators. His specific task is to give unity and efficiency to the whole team of social workers in Latin America. Their work will demand practically full time dedication of the executive secretary and normally the better part of the regional co-ordinators' time as well. Provincials should therefore facilitate the fulfillment of these functions and give whatever effective assistance they can.[11]

7) At the conclusion of this brief commentary on the new *Statutes* of CIAS of Latin America which I am promulgating with the hope that the Lord will bless and make them fruitful, I cannot help but reflect for a moment along with all the Jesuits of Latin America, on the reasons why CIAS has not achieved the results that Father General Janssens had planned for it as a whole. The reasons can perhaps be reduced to three basic ones. First, the social apostolate is one which involves the great complexities, realities that are more difficult to resolve because of their pressure on people's consciences for social justice; whereas, on the other hand, other apostolates, including the scientific and educational, though they doubtlessly carry with them problems of the greatest importance, nevertheless have, in a certain sense, solutions and techniques which are more within our reach. Secondly, the Society is not in fact efficiently oriented to an apostolate which favors social justice. Rather it has always been focused on influencing the higher social

[11] The Latin American Council of CIAS (CLACIAS) proposed to Father General as one of the conclusions of the Lima Congress is already a reality. The four "regional coordinators" are: Frs. Nelson Queiroz (Brazil), Hernán Larraín (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile), Jaime Martínez (Ecuador, Venezuela, and Columbia), José Luis Alemán (Mexico, Central America, and the Antilles). The executive secretary is Fr. Hernán Larraín.

classes and on the formation of its leaders, according to a strategy that is justified fundamentally for historical reasons. It has not focused precisely on the agents of evolution which are today at work for social change. Thirdly, the insufficiency of men and indispensable means. The men who with great effort were being chosen and formed later found themselves practically isolated, misunderstood, not provided with the right means, and in a new apostolic venture. Perhaps not all of them possessed the energy necessary to overcome those extraordinary difficulties inherent in and consequent to rapid social change. It is certainly not possible for us to oversimplify an apostolate which is of its nature bristling with problems, tensions, and frustrations. But it is our inescapable duty to create new administrative strategy and committees of experts so that they will form a united front, that thus, with the support of the apostolic grace of our vocation, they might carry out their mission in Latin America. If, in our work for social justice, we are really establishing the just order which God wills and in the manner he wills it, we will not cease to experience his unfailing protection. It is up to us, however, to pick out the strategic means just as though the Lord had left things solely in our hands. I trust in him, that the constitution of this Latin American Council of CIAS will contribute in a definitive way to a unity and mutual support which go beyond provincial and national boundaries of the Jesuits dedicated to social action. Man can attain his own fulfillment only in the sincere commitment of himself to his neighbor.[12]

8) Finally, there remains one point which is by no means a simple one. I mean the rather delicate situation of the Society's "taking of a stand" regarding social conflict in Latin America.

On the one hand I do not hesitate to accept the spirit of the "taking of a stand" and even going beyond it. For I recognize the fact that the Society has contracted a certain moral obligation to make notable reparation, not just with regard to Jesuits themselves, for that which we as Jesuits have neglected and are neglecting to do for social justice and equality (an omission which has definite results against the poor). I would like to see this spirit of reparation more alive in everyone, beginning, naturally, with superiors themselves.

[12] *GS*, 24.

But, on the other hand, it seems more to the point that we not yet make any verbal declaration to people not in the Society. We should begin to act immediately in favor of social justice with the eloquence of our deeds. This way, when the day comes in which our unequivocal action for social justice demands a justification and a public explanation, then on that day, our "taking of a stand" will not only be capable of formulation, but it will have to be made without any hesitation.

Taking a stand

In the meantime, I have decided to begin by taking a stand internally, within the Society. And from this moment on I want this "taking of a stand" to be effective among the members of the Society. It is gravely distressing that still today there are those within the Society, even among those who hold positions of great responsibility, who have not understood the urgency and the primary importance of the problem of social justice. Without doubt those who give an equal significance to the authentic social apostolate and to the other specialized activities deceive themselves. Such a judgment is, in reality, without any meaning: it does not take into account the unique moral implications of the social problems.

Moreover, the possibilities which dispose the Society to respond to directives of the Church and to put into operation this social doctrine must cause us to reflect deeply. The purpose of the Society, pledged to the most universal and the most lasting values, our thirty-six thousand Jesuits distributed through all latitudes in the most diverse civilizations and social classes, even the level of human resources which are at our disposal, constitute a situation which obliges us to set aside our personal and collective responsibilities, and to recall with a new urgency that a response which might be sufficient for others, would not be so for us.

We have to realize that some socio-economic structures, given their mutual interdependence, constitute a bloc, a social system which forms a whole. With respect to establishing a just social order, the intrinsic insufficiency of certain fundamental structures expresses itself in a global insufficiency in function of the whole system which is in discord with the Gospel.[13]

[13] *L'Osservatore Romano* (June 8-9, 1964), Paul VI to UCID"; Also, *ibid.* (November 25, 1965), "To the Latin American Hierarchy."

As a result the Society has a moral obligation to rethink all its ministries and forms of apostolates and to examine whether they really answer to what the urgency and the priority of justice and social dignity require. Even an apostolate to which the Society is so sincerely attached and whose importance is not doubted by anyone, such as education on various levels, must submit its concrete forms to actual reconsideration in the light of the exigencies of the social problem. One can think of certain high schools, by nature quasi-exclusive because of student selectivity and tuition rates, which seriously pose the question of their reason for existence or of their radical transformation. This consideration, extending through all the ministries in Latin America, led Father General Janssens to affirm categorically:

> I know well that I often distress you when it seems that I impose new tasks on men already overburdened. Do not consider the works already undertaken as if you have an obligation to continue all of them. As a preliminary, analyze again with a new concern what you have and what you have not, as if today the question will be to re-think anew the province since its foundations. Courageously abandon what is of lesser importance, undertake what is in reality more important . . .[14]

A complete integration of this authentic moral scale of values in our daily life, weighs down with obligation and puts more pressure on the personal responsibility of every Jesuit each day. The provincials for their part should utilize all the elements of information and judgment in their comprehension among which the Latin American Council of the Centers of Investigation and Social Action (CLACIAS) plays a pre-eminent role by its very nature.

It is further evident that the Society is at the service of Jesus Christ, who loves all men, with a preference for the poor. Our effort and our immeasurable desire to establish a just social order and conform to the Gospel does not allow us to take sides with either group where there are disputing parties. We do not take sides in a dispute as such. But we are exclusively on the side of truth, justice, equity and love: their imperatives are our only law. We must avoid being offensive, harsh or demagogic, but we are not going to be surprised if "the truth is not pleasing to all."[15] We

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[14] *AR*, XIII, 876.
[15] *AR*, XI, 723.

must certainly be sensitive to others, but we must also be firm and without fear of losing human respect. This is our attitude in the face of the truth which will certainly displease more than a few and which will possibly have repercussions with respect to some of our present relations with those who have most power. Our rock and our strength is solely the Lord whose love urges us to cooperate for a better world than the one which we have received.[16] Naturally a decisive attitude and doctrine demand the evidence and the support of a hard and austere life, like that of the poor Christ. Any other style of life and work for social justice will be vain.

Responsibility

In consideration of the more comfortable and fortunate classes we must ask ourselves with Fr. Janssens, if our students and our associates "have not received from us a confirmation of their class prejudices, inherited perhaps from their families."[17] The love of Jesus Christ and of our neighbor does not allow us, naturally, to turn from them. We must ask ourselves if our relations with the rich "lead us to open a gap among them" . . . and provoke in them "a constant determination to tear out by the roots the enormous inequality of human conditions."[18] We must remind ourselves that social justice is not satisfied simply by occasional grants of alms nor by conscience-soothing improvements of pay. The real social reform aims to give to each the possibility of accomplishing the perfection and fullness of the human person by the exercise of responsibility and initiative. It is an unjust social order which does not permit the exercise of the responsibility and the personal initiative conforming to human dignity even if this social order is of a nature that assures a just and equitable monetary recompense in itself.[19] Nor may one believe today's more powerful classes can be the principal agents of the social transformation.[20] They never have been the agents of a radically more just restructuring and they can scarcely do it by themselves except in isolated cases.

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[16] Psalm 30:4.

[17] *AR,* XI, 720.

[18] *AR,* XII, 411.

[19] *MM,* 82, 83; cf. 92, 96.

[20] *MM,* 144.

The re-establishment of society according to a more just, equitable model and a more human concern affects, more than anyone else, the poor, the workers, the peasants, all the social classes who find themselves held in restraint on the margin of society, unable to benefit equitably from its goods and services, or to participate in its decisions. Precisely in the measure that these decisions have a more direct effect on the interests of the poor and the downtrodden, they must not be made without the active presence of these people.[21] No one can substitute for them in the vital decisions which affect their proper interests, not even under the pretext of doing it better than they would themselves. Counsel them, train them, guide them, especially their leaders, yes. Supplant them and decide for them without their proper consent, no. This usurpation—except always for the intervention of the state for the common good—does not harmonize with Christian social justice. After all, the new society which we are straining for is not merely a society in which each individual simply has more goods and more services, but a society in which each can achieve a progressively fuller realization of himself as human person and therefore where each will not only *have* more, but will *be* more.[22]

The only thing left for me now is to bless, from the bottom of my heart, all those Jesuits who have committed their energies and are continuing to spend themselves for this great cause of social justice. If the Society in Latin America and all over the world reacts with love of neighbor and plunges itself into the work of realizing a social order that is more just and equitable both in the distribution of goods and in responsible participation in social, economic and political life, I hope that God our Lord will mercifully forgive our omissions and the scandal we have possibly given. For love covers a multitude of sins.

Rome, December 12, 1966

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[21] *MM*, 97, 99, and *passim*.

[22] *GS*, 35.

CALCUTTA, CASSOCKS, AND CHEROOTS

a trip to India

Charles P. Costello, S.J.

For years, American Jesuit missioners have felt a need for greater communication with their home provinces. The conference of mission superiors which met in Syracuse in January, 1966, emphatically recommended such communication. In particular, they authorized visits of several months' duration by missioners to their home provinces at regular intervals. They also encouraged each American province to work out co-operative programs between the province's own educational institutions and those in their dependent missions. As a first step in the development of such programs, each high school in the Maryland Province "adopted" one of the high schools in the province's missions in India and Chile. Loyola High School in Towson, Maryland was assigned Loyola School in Jamshedpur, in the north Indian province of Bihar. This past summer, Charles P. Costello, S.J., president and rector of Loyola High School, traveled to Jamshedpur to determine how the two Loyolas, one in Maryland, the other in Bihar, might best assist each other. During his three week stay in India, Fr. Costello spoke with both the faculty and students at Loyola School, observed classes there, and toured the mission stations of the Jamshedpur Vice-Province. He also kept a journal which WOODSTOCK LETTERS *is happy to print here for the light it sheds on the fine work being done by Maryland Province Jesuits in extraordinarily difficult circumstances, work that is duplicated by Jesuits from every American province in mission areas around the world.*

It is July 23, 1967. The time is 3:30 P.M. at Friendship International Airport. Mike Burch, a scholastic at Loyola, has driven me from Blakefield and stayed for about a half-hour. Shortly after he left, my good friends, the Jeffersons, appeared. We sat in the restaurant and had a drink. The Eastern airline flight took off at 4:10 and arrived at Kennedy at 5:11. What a traffic maze at this place; it took twenty minutes to get from the Eastern terminal to Irish International.

At Irish I found that my flight had been delayed two hours. It left the terminal at 8:15, but even then had to taxi around for an hour while 30 other planes took off ahead of us. The pilot conveyed this happy bit of news: that we had used up 720 gallons of gasoline in that hour, costing the company about 80 dollars a minute. All I could think of was whether we had enough gasoline to get us across the Atlantic. Finally we swept into the air at 9:15 in our Boeing 707 with about 175 passengers abroad.

On the transatlantic trip I sat next to Mr. and Mrs. Ed Walsh. They are natives of Ireland. Ed teaches at V.P.I. Had next to no sleep; guess I was wondering about a few other things at the time. There was a beautiful dawn about 6:30 (Dublin time) over a magnificent terrain of clouds. Arrived at Shannon 7:55 A.M. through a thick overcast which suddenly broke to reveal the Emerald Isle and its fields, all 'plotted and pieced'. Most of the passengers disembarked at Shannon. On to Dublin where we arrived at 9:15 with some more good landscape sights of the blessed island.

I took the terminal bus into the bus center in Dublin; took a taxi from there to University College where I met Fr. Lee Jaster, who was expecting me. Lee, who was studying in Ireland for the summer, will join our community at Blakefield in September. I celebrated a votive Mass of the Holy Spirit in the University chapel, and after this had a fine breakfast with some real Irish tea and baked bread—delicious. Lee and I then went to rent a car at Murray's in Dublin. Got a Mini-Minor. Lee and I had an exciting ride through Dublin traffic (and it's incredible), letting me get used to driving on the wrong side of the car, on the wrong side of the street and with the stick shift on the floor to my left. Somehow

we made it to the outskirts of Dublin with no catastrophe; Lee left me to my own devices at that point to return to center city.

So I took off on my own along the road to Derry—about 150 miles to the north. Departure time was 1:00 P.M. and I arrived in Londonderry at 5:15. The trip was a fantastic delight for a second-generation Irishman—the green fields, the hedgerows, the lovely town squares, the Irish cottages, a fair number of cyclists and a sprinkling of rain and sunshine (the sun came out, by the way, when I got to Northern Ireland, although my cousin was quick to assure me there was no connection). I even got caught behind an Irish funeral with the mourners walking behind a horse-drawn caisson right through the center of the town.

Not knowing my cousin Leo's address, I checked the phone book; called the operator for an explanation of the shillings and pence. Leo was unfortunately not home. So I with a will went in search of his house, made a few wrong turns, but finally got on the right route. As I waited at a corner, much to my surprise a woman asked me for a lift to Culmore. So I took her and on the way discovered Talbot Park, the place where Leo and Maureen live. After dropping my hitchiker off, I returned, located the house, only to find them out. Maureen was golfing and Leo was visiting. I went next door to Dr. Mac Farland's and found they would return shortly. Well, we had a grand reunion (the last time I saw Leo was back in 1956 when he came into Baltimore as captain on an English freighter). He has failed a good bit; just recently he had a colostomy performed. But he is still the most gracious relative. A good scotch drink with Leo relaxed me wonderfully. After chatting a bit, we had a lovely dinner with some more good Irish tea and bread. I spent some time showing Leo pictures and talking further. But when I began to fall asleep as we talked, we both realized I had had it. The thought of what had happened in just twenty-four hours was enough to create immediate sleep. I took a hot bath and slept like a top.

Maureen woke me at 7:15 with breakfast in bed. Then Maureen and I went to St. Patrick's where I celebrated Mass. It is a lovely old Church—no altar facing the people. Young John Gill served my Mass and, since I was leaving Northern Ireland, I gave him all my English coins. On returning to Talbot Park, Leo was up and

about, and we had another round of tea. Took a solo walk to the River Foyle, a river whose name frequently crossed my mother's lips. It is the essence of peace and placidity. Then we headed for our round of visits in their car.

Cousins, uncles, and aunts

First off we visited Leo's sister Anna, a second cousin, in Moville —another name I often heard. Her niece Ann (O'Donnell) Morrison was also there on vacation. Another round of tea. Then Maureen, Leo, and I took a stroll along the lovely village green which rolls down into the Loch Foyle. Our next stop was at a little butcher shop in the corner of the town square where Charles Crumlish, another cousin, and the owner of the shop, lives. After chatting a bit with Charlie and his wife Winnie, we went upstairs to visit Charlie's sister, Nora, another cousin, who is an invalid in bed. I felt like I was a blessed vision from heaven from her reaction to seeing me. For lunch we went to Keaveney's in Moville. Had a drink and a delicious lunch. In my mom's day, this was the old Alexander Hotel. As we walked through the town square, Leo pointed to one lovely tree—larger than the rest—which he explained: there used to be a tavern on the corner and the owner always made a point of pouring the half-emptied glasses of Guinness' stout on its roots.

Now we were on our way out the Moville road. The Loch Foyle was on our right and the sweeping hills of Donegal on the left with patches of farm all along the route, flocks of cattle and sheep. It was the winding "upper road" we took through the hedgerows. The Ballybrack Church was our first stop. This is the Church where mom and her sisters and brothers were all christened. There is a cemetery surrounding the Church, completely overgrown and filled with hidden drainage routes. The bushes and grass were shoulder high; Leo fell a couple of times while making his way in search of some family headstones. The weather created a "Wuthering Heights" atmosphere; there were heavy overcast skies and a strong cold wind coming down off the hills. As we forged our way about, we came upon the tombstones of my great-great grandfather which read "Erected by James Hernan of Shrove in memory of his father Charles Hernan who died 3 July 1871, aged 80 years"; of my great grandfather which read "Pray for the soul of Dennis Hernan who

died 11 February 1889, aged 70 years, and of his daughter Bridget who died 23 July 1884, aged 21 years."; and finally of my uncle Neil, one that Leo had not seen before. My grandfather Charles had no tombstone. You can imagine how weathered the stones were with age and the elements. Grays and browns of the stones and the gray of the Church—all against the gray skies of Donegal. It becomes clearer where the mixture of melancholy and gaiety in the Irish take their origins—the weather can be the grayest and the brightest.

Following the visit to the cemetery, we went on for another few miles to "Charlie's Road," named after my grandfather. The English Rover, Leo's car, made good speed up the hillside to the farmhouse where we found Winnie Hernan, the present proprietor of the place. It is indeed still primitive—stone floor and rugged furniture. The only concession to the age seemed to be a heating stove. Winnie was as delighted to meet me as I was to meet her. She held my arm and looked into my eyes for a good time. Her son, Charles, who is a lighthouse keeper in the extreme northwest, had just returned to work that morning so I missed seeing him. Winnie gave me a "wee bit of the creature"—and it was a good wee bit indeed.

From the front of the farmhouse looking down to the Loch Foyle with the mountains and sand beaches circumventing the placid water, I had the urge to sit down and stay there forever. Memories of mother's stories of a fabled beauty along the Atlantic Coast were now certain facts. One quite unfortunate thing was that this inexperienced cameraman managed to take 20 pictures—all wrong and the whole roll was a loss. What a disappointment! We sat and chatted with Winnie for about 20 minutes, and I was able to tell her how my two aunts, her sisters-in-law, were doing in Philadelphia. Winnie had a very difficult time bidding farewell; it was quite clear that she was on the verge of tears and she didn't want this to be seen so she hurried into the cottage very quickly.

From Winnie's place, we went a stone's throw away over to "Pat's Road," named after my grand-uncle. Up the road again and through a very narrow gate to the cottage of Mary and John Hernan, some more cousins. John was away haymaking for the day, but Hannah (Hernan) Lavery, the sister of John and Mary, was there with Mary. Hannah lives in Derry and golfs a good bit with Maureen. Mary's place, in contrast with Winnie's, is fixed up quite

comfortably, although it is just as small. A good bit off to the side of their cottage is the original homestead where mom and the rest were born. It is now a home for the pigs. The original windows were exceptionally small because the people used to be taxed by the size of their windows (you were being taxed for God's good daylight, it seemed). Of course, we had an afternoon tea—a meal in itself (I was storing up for my Indian experience with all this eating and drinking). As 4:30 approached, Leo, Maureen and I began to make our move toward Derry. After farewells and the barks of the dogs (they had four there), we headed for the "lower road" on the route back. Along this road I saw the Great White Bay, the lighthouse, and the Greencastle Golf course, the place where Maureen plays. As we moved out of Shrove, there was no question (perhaps a prejudice comes in here) that this was one of the most beautiful sections of country I had ever seen.

Back to The Moorings

Back to Leo's lovely home, The Moorings, with its large beautiful gardens. Maureen and Leo both seem to have green thumbs. I have never seen such an array of mammoth rose bushes anywhere. Then I had to have a cup of tea for the road. Maureen led me back through Derry city to the Strabane Road across the Foyle, and I was on my way back to Dublin. Left at 6 P.M. and arrived at Dublin Airport at 11 P.M. It was interesting—and helpful—to have daylight until 10:30 or so. Despite a few wrong turns, one for a 24 mile stretch, that was pretty good time. After returning the rented car, I thought I could get a room near the airport, but the motel was completely full. Went, then, to the Adelphi Hotel (?) in Dublin where a young man by the name of Bill Arrigan (a former seminarian in Washington, D.C.) was the maitre d'hôtel. The room I got reminded me of some of those ridiculous places we put up with when we wanted a weekend in Ocean City. Some drunk tottered in during the early morning and, with the paper-thin walls, he created a sensation.

At 6:30 A.M. I rose and caught the airport bus; arrived there about 7:30 and took off for London at 8:30. Had a clear and exciting view of London as we came into Heathrow Airport. The airport itself is quite a place, extremely well-organized and handsome.

Couldn't venture about since my flight to Geneva came up in a few hours, so I sat and wrote a few postcards and watched the assorted humanity hurrying by.

Swissair took me to Geneva. It was a Caravelle jet; have to admit that the Swiss stewardesses were the loveliest I encountered on my long trip. Saw some of France as we made our descent into Geneva. In flight I sat next to a charming young Indian girl who lives in London and attends St. Godric's College there. I later met her whole family on the flight to Bombay; they were going there for the older daughter's wedding. The father, Ticam Chulani, owns a watch and camera store chain in Jamaica. He controls 70 to 90% of the business there. During the flight to Bombay, we were to have an enjoyable chat together.

As the plane approached Geneva we got a brief glimpse of the majestic Alps. This was the first country in which I expected to run into difficulty on language, but there was none. Most of the gracious people of Geneva spoke several languages. You begin to feel a bit how we make other people accommodate to us. On the advice of the Indian family I met on the plane, I took a taxi to the Hotel Richemond where I stayed for my twenty-four hours in Geneva. This was gracious living. I had a fine room with shower, a delicious dinner (reported to be the best cuisine in Europe), and a hearty breakfast the next morning—all for 20 dollars.

I was unable to celebrate Mass on Wednesday with all the travel. In the afternoon in Geneva, I walked to Notre Dame Cathedral to see if I could make arrangements for Mass the following morning. Met one of the priests at the rectory who directed me to the Jesuit House in Geneva which I did not know was there—St. Boniface—about 6 or 8 blocks away. This is a hostel for young working men and women—a very fine building. A group of nuns take care of the place, and one made arrangements for me to say Mass at 7:30 the next morning. The walk through the city gave me a good picture of Geneva. The number of sidewalk cafés is striking; the stores and office buildings are impressive. Got back to the magnificent Lake Geneva, a few blocks from the hotel. There I discovered they had cruises and so I went out on the lake for an hour. It was a bit choppy. The sight of hundreds of sailboats with their brilliant, vari-colored spinnakers bellying out in the strong wind was exciting.

After my cruise I returned to the hotel, took a shower, and then had dinner. After the meal, I decided to take another walk around the lake area. The lake front with its many manicured garden parks, lights illuminating the trees, the touring boats moving back and forth across the lake, all the promenaders—an enjoyable sight. On returning to my room, I relaxed with some reading and good music.

Rose at 6:30 on Thursday and prepared for the good hike to St. Boniface. Saw another view of Geneva in the morning sunlight. My Mass was finished about 8:00, and I returned to the hotel for breakfast on the terrace. Took a final stroll along the lakefront, making a second effort with the camera (these did turn out). The fountain at the city end of the lake is a remarkable thing. It is a pressurized stream which shoots about 500 feet straight up into the air.

Signed out of the Richemond about 11:30 and took a taxi to the airport in Cointrin outside Geneva. There I confirmed my ticket and got my baggage set for the 3:00 P.M. Air India flight (it is interesting that the only place thus far where I have had to pay for 8 lbs. overweight baggage was at Friendship in Baltimore). I watched the passing parade at the airport—quite an international scene. Had a drink to screw up my courage for the long flight to India and some lunch; then I bought a bottle of scotch, and a box of cigars for the men in India (that is the quota you are allowed to bring in). My pockets were now filled with assorted coins from Ireland, England, and Switzerland.

Miles logged so far in flight—about 4,500. By the time I reach Calcutta, it will be 9,900 miles, and the trip to Jamshedpur will bring the total to 10,000. I settled down in the Air India 707 Boeing Jet. Next to me sat a former High Commissioner for India in Ottawa, Mr. C. L. Venkatachar, from Bangalore in the south of India. We had some enjoyable conversation, and I was very pleased to hear from him, despite the fact that he was a Brahmin, that he knew a great deal about what the Jesuits had contributed to India. He was especially impressed by the work of Robert De Nobili and the great mathematician, Matteo Ricci. The Chulanis, mentioned previously, were also on board, and I had a long chat with Mr. Chulani.

Beirut and Bombay

After losing another five hours in the time change, we landed

in Beirut, Lebanon around midnight. A layover of 40 minutes at the airport gave me a chance to see this city by night—from the vantage point of the airport terminal. Mr. Chulani who had lived in Beirut for 8 yrs. gave me a bit of commentary on the place. The mountainsides were sparkling with lights. Most of the city dwellers move to the mountains for the summer months, because the heat is so intense on the plain at this time. Just to the right of the airport was the Mediterranean. We took off then for Bombay and, after a meal on the plane and a little snooze, we came into the Bombay airport through a driving monsoon rain. The approach was the bumpiest part of my whole flight so far. Much to my chagrin, it was 6 A.M. in this Indian city. There was a noticeable change of treatment of foreigners in this first stop in India, despite large signs at the airport parading the slogan "Tourists are our most honored Guests". We also had to make a change of plane here which was unexpected. We were shepherded into a waiting room at the terminal, and after an hour or more delay, we finally boarded another Air India flight. As we flew off from Bombay, the dawn was breaking, and still there was a downpour of rain. It was a bit bumpy again until we got over the clouds. The rest of the flight to Calcutta was fine. My companion this time was a young Indian mother, decked out in a lovely sari with her young baby in her arms. She was on her way to visit her in-laws in Calcutta.

As I disembarked from the plane and entered the terminal in Calcutta, it was a real pleasure to spy Fr. Larry Hunt, headmaster at Loyola School, Jamshedpur, waving in the midst of the crowd, decked out in his white cassock—the missionaries wear them everywhere in India. Health inspection came first, then the check through at Customs. Despite a long wait for service, they did not even request the opening of my bags (maybe we were their honored guests, after all). Larry and I grabbed a coke at the airport restaurant, and I had there my first glimpse of the poor Indian workmen serving table. We then took the airport bus from Dum Dum Airport (that is really the name) into Calcutta. What an incredible baptism to Indian life this was! As we bumped along in the battered bus, the view from the window was simply unbelievable. It seemed as though people filled the whole landscape, and where there were empty spots, the sacred cows flopped about like owners of the land.

The people were in varying stages of undress, dirty and utterly poor, moving about with an obvious air of hopelessness. Hundreds and hundreds of people per block, some driving a few head of cattle, barefooted men pulling rickshaws, dilapidated shops of every assortment, women carrying small bloated babies in their arms, little children scrounging in the dirt for scraps of food, car horns constantly honking away in an effort to move the cars through the dense throngs (the companies making car horns must do a fabulous business; when you drive your hand has to be on the horn constantly). Even this description does little justice to the reality. Larry commented wisely that all the bishops at the Vatican Council should have taken a week's tour of Calcutta and perhaps some of their decisions and conclusions would have been more far-sighted and pertinent.

Finally we arrived at St. Xavier's College—our Jesuit school, established in 1852 (the same year as Loyola High School incidentally) with grades from kindergarten to senior year in college—something like 4,000 students. Here I met a number of the fine Belgian Jesuits who have done so very much throughout India; had lunch; took a nap and then a shower; said Mass. After this, Larry and I took a two hour walk through the heart of Calcutta. Larry again ushered me along the streets, teeming with people.

Remarkable contrasts

It was the rush hour and the trolley cars were bulging with people hanging onto the sides and back and out the windows. Constantly we were surrounded and beseiged by people begging. For example, a mother and her small children would be making an effort to get a bit of money. The mother would deploy a small child in our direction and he would hound us for a whole block (not knowing Hindi and not having any Indian money, I was safe). A horrible bit of information I picked up in connection with this phenomena: many parents will purposely maim their children when they are infants in order that they may more effectively beg when they are older. I saw a woman huddled by a battered shop, one small child behind her, and in her arms another little bloated baby which could not have been far from death. Hundreds with little coal fires were cooking some meagre fare right in the street, or sitting on their haunches (they have a fantastic ability at this—for hours on end)

in doorways and along walls. The results of unemployment were blatantly obvious with small groups of men sitting on their haunches in a circle, staring or mumbling to one another. Vendors of every conceivable trinket were plying their wares through this maze of humanity. Occasionally, amid ramshackle and dilapidated stores, you could spot a nicely appointed place with air-conditioning. The contrasts are remarkable, because there seem to be so few good things among so many bad. Eventually we made a circuit back to St. Xavier's.

We stayed at St. Xavier's for dinner. (I should mention here that, shortly before our walk, we happened upon Fr. Sig Laschenski, a former professor at our seminary in Rangoon, whom the Burmese government expelled from the country two years ago along with hundreds of other foreign missionaries. Sig was just in from the south of India and on his way to Burma for a 24 hr. visit before taking up residence in Thailand. Here is a Jesuit who is a missioner to his fingertips.) Much to the chagrin of Larry and myself, we had reading at table all through the meal, along with Latin graces. I went a bit easy on the eating with the hope that the preventative medicine against dysentery plus an easing into the different food out here might keep the disease away. After dinner I got my first introduction to the "coffee-klatch" which is the conclusion of the meal but always in the recreation room. Interestingly, they have compulsory rec for a half hour after dinner. I was beginning to sense some characteristics of the "old world Society." I also noticed as I puffed on an Indian cigar that I was alone in my efforts—no one was smoking.

To Jamshedpur

Since we had dinner at 7:30 P.M., their regular hour, we left recreation shortly because we had to be out of St. Xavier's by taxi no later than 9:15 P.M. Our train for Jamshedpur was scheduled for 10:00. It was a very short distance in mileage to the station, but you have to figure on the horrendous mess of human, animal and mechancial traffic, especially in terms of the one bridge, the Howra, the world's second largest "some kind or other" bridge, and the only one across the river. Getting across was another unique experience. There is absolutely no concept of lines of traffic. How the bridge has stood so long is amazing, considering all the weight that

is concentrated on it at one time. As we needled our way with the horn honking every two seconds, we passed huge trucks, stopped in the middle of the whole menagerie with the driver underneath repairing something or other. I was told that things were relatively quiet and light on this particular evening, letting us get to the station at 9:40 in plenty of time. The baggage was fought over by four or five barefooted Indians; it's a sin against society to carry your own bags. As we entered the station I was reminded of an Indian novel I read, *Nectar in a Sieve*, the story of a couple who were forced to find their night's lodging in places like railway stations. It was early and already hundreds of people were asleep on the main floor of the station.

The missionaries treat you very generously. Although they usually ride the third class compartments when they travel, they have mercy on us—we well-accommodated Americans. So we had an air-conditioned compartment on the train. You could not help noticing the other class compartments, especially the third class, jammed with people sitting on wooden benches, lying on the floor or in the baggage racks. Larry and I chatted for a short while; then hit the sack. During the night we managed some good hours of sleep, although on a few occasions I suspected that the railroad ties were unduly high and were passing immediately under my bed.

About 6 A.M., we disembarked from the train in Jamshedpur, at the Tata station. It was already obvious that Jamshedpur was quite a different city from Calcutta. This is a company town with buildings, roads, etc., sponsored by the philanthropic Tata family, owners of the famous steel mills frequently referred to as the "Pittsburgh of the East." The route from the station to Loyola school was relatively clear of overcrowding and animal maneuverings. The drive took us about 15 minutes.

On arrival at Loyola School, I was given a most gracious and cordial welcome; had a fine breakfast and shaved in readiness for the "March Past" which the students presented in my honor. The monsoon rains appeared shortly and curtailed the presentation. Larry introduced me to the student body and I spoke to them for a few minutes. It was now Saturday, July 29th, close to the noon hour.

After lunch and a bit of conversation, I took off for bed. Later in

the afternoon the rector, Fr. Ken Judge, took me for a drive around a part of the city. We stopped at St. Joseph's Cathedral, the residence of Bishop Lawrence Picachy, S.J., a native Indian (he was away on retreat). Met Fr. Casanovas and Fr. Packy McFarland, two of the priests assigned to the Cathedral. Then we drove through Jubilee Park, a lovely spot, given to the people of the city by the Tata family on one of the anniversaries of the town. On to Mercy Hospital, a scattering of make-shift buildings where a group of 5 Mercy nuns from Philadelphia do a remarkable job of caring for accidents, doing surgery (one of the nuns is a surgeon), and treating other illnesses, especially TB. Sr. Regina Mercedes is the sister of Mr. Otto Hentz, a theologian at Woodstock, and from Jenkintown where she was in school with my brother-in-law. She is a real extrovert, jovial and affable—qualities almost necessary for this mission life. We had a look at their convent which was very nice. She informed us that jackals come right up to their doorstep during the night.

A welcoming show presented by the Loyola faculty (there are about 10 Jesuits and 35 or more laymen and women) was scheduled for 6 P.M. We arrived back just in time. There were about 12 different presentations of songs and drama—very enjoyable, although, as Larry Hunt put it, the Hindi songs did not "turn me on" too much. I was called on to say a few words. That this would become a regular routine became more and more evident. Fortunately I said just the right things in my two minute address—so the Jesuits told me. The Indians are a very sensitive people, and it does not take long to pick this up. Apparently there had been quite a buildup to my visit. All the Indian teachers were treating me like we treat the Middle States Evaluation team that visits our school.

Xavier Labor Relations Institute

In the evening Larry took me for my first of several visits to XLRI (Xavier Labor Relations Institute) where Fr. Bill Tome is superior. It is only a five minute drive from Loyola, and quite an impressive building with beautiful landscaping, especially the rows of weeping Ashoka trees on either side of the main entrance. (To keep lawns and gardens beautiful here is not difficult since labor is so incredibly cheap and plentiful. Men and women cut the lawns by hand, believe it or not. They then can sell the grass to others

for feed for their cattle.) Our get-together in their rec room over a few drinks of gin was most enjoyable. Frs. Ed McGrath, Jim Collins (a New England Jesuit), Herb Covely, and a native Indian priest, P.C. Anthony, along with Bill, constitute the staff. Their influence on the industrial scene there is great; perhaps some indication of this is the fact that the Vice-President of India will be there this September to present a lecture to the students. Much of our conversation late into the evening centered on the changes in the Society in the States with some special inquiries about the "younger men." I brought over with me two records of the Tijuana Brass and one Simon and Garfunkel record. They thoroughly enjoyed them. I also delivered the moisture-proof salt shakers which Fr. Cy Dawson, a Jamshedpur missioner back in the States for a visit, sent to his confreres. These are very welcome additions during the monsoon season which lasts for about six months of the year. About midnight Larry and I headed back to Loyola. That I was pretty pooped at this stage of the trip was patently clear.

The morrow was the 11th Sunday after Pentecost and July 30. My rising time was about 8 A.M. Most of my initial days in India, I celebrated Mass in the afternoon. About 11 A.M., I was invited to inspect the hostel where about 100 Catholic boys reside—all living good distances from Loyola. It is another very fine building, about 50 yards from the school. These boys, incidentally, constitute most of the Catholic population of the student body of 1100. Everything seemed ready for the inspection. It reminded me of the Sunday morning inspection tours of senior corridor at Georgetown Prep. The age range in the hostel is about 5 to 19, and this in itself is enough to keep Joe Lacey, the one scholastic at Loyola, a very busy man (he has much more besides). The shades of skin color are from very dark to white and, interestingly enough, those with lighter skins are considered the more blessed. They all have handsome features. When inspection was over, I was asked to judge the winner of four plaques which each of the "houses" in the hostel had made. The winner was Gonzaga House. Joe later told me that this one had been started and finished just the day before, and at least one of the others had been a month in the making (well, I think I would still judge the same way). Had to "say a few words" again, of course.

In the afternoon, a number of alumni moderators from Ranchi

and Patna came for an "Old Boys" (the British term for alumni) meeting, the first of its kind. It was an idea inaugurated by Fr. Joe Kennedy, former rector at Loyola. Prior to the get-together, all the Jesuits met for a discussion of what could be expected from such a session. The American observer, of course, was called on for his observations. They had about 100 of the Jesuit school graduates for the meeting, which was very good for a first effort—an encouraging sign.

The next day was Monday and the feast of St. Ignatius. In the morning at 9:00, there was a staff vs. student soccer match in which the students bested the staff 3 to 0. Fr. Ed Graham was the goalie for the staff. A good crowd of onlookers enjoyed the contest on the rain-drenched field. Following the soccer match, the students had arranged a show. In the absense of TV, these kids are blessed in being forced to entertain themselves. Larry and I would not be able to stay for the whole performance, as we told them at the beginning, since we had received an invitation from XLRI for lunch. Had a very enjoyable lunch there and sat around talking again for a few hours.

A Mass for the hostel boys was set for 6 P.M. Joe Lacey had arranged a concelebration (not too much of this is done in India). I was the principal concelebrant; also Mike Love, the minister, Larry Hunt the headmaster, Fr. Stiller, a visitor from Katmandu in northern India, Ed Graham, the treasurer, and Gene Power, an English teacher at Loyola. At the offertory, Joe asked me to present crosses to the "Crusaders", a sodality-type organization in which the younger boys participate. About 20 of the boys received them after I blessed the crosses in a brief ceremony. I gave a short homily. It was a fine celebration of the liturgy with the students singing with great gusto, making up their own intentions for the Prayer of the Faithful. Joe Lacey has done an excellent job with the boys.

On Tuesday, Joe invited me to a few of his classes and a short story seminar. The young boys are quite capable and have surprisingly fine vocabularies although artificially expressed at times. Following their quite rapid speech is difficult for one not quite used to it. On Wednesday, Larry took me on a whirlwind tour of some of the lower standards. Having these boys from kindergarten on enables the staff to accomplish far more than would be possible if

they limited themselves to the high school standards. The majority of the Lower Standard classes are conducted by Indian women, a very bright addition to a school in their gaily-colored saris. Many of the ladies are fairly well off, and they have taken this position in order to have something constructive to do. A number of them have developed into excellent teachers. In the afternoon, I had a two hour conversation with Fr. Tony Roberts, the vice-provincial, and it was an enjoyable session, with an exchange of views and some good discussion.

Since afternoon tea is a ritual here in India (another British trace left behind), a few comments are in order about this. No matter where you travel or where you are, you can be assured of a good spot of tea. It is far more grandiose than our afternoon haustus; it resembles more a fourth meal. Generally there is hot and cold tea, sandwiches, biscuits and other assorted tid-bits. If one is travelling by taxi or bus, I am told it is by no means unusual that the driver and occupants of the vehicle will stop at a tea-shop (and these shops are available in the humblest of villages) for their "tea-break."

An evening of luxurious texture

As evening was moving in over the hills of Jamshedpur, I noticed that it was a particularly clear scene. I grabbed my camera and went on the roof of the school which affords a sweeping view of the surrounding countryside. The cloud formations, the interplay of darkness and light against the heavy greens of the hills, darkened here and there by the clouds over them created a luxurious texture which I hope I captured with my camera. Joe Lacey accompanied me to the rooftop and indicated a number of points of interest visible from this location. After I finished my shots of the countryside, Joe and I chatted for about an hour before dinner. Joe is the only scholastic presently at Loyola, which creates difficulties for him since there is always a consolation to be derived from the support and teamwork of other scholastics. Because of the problems with visas and the entry of men into India, there will be an unfortunate dearth of scholastics in the schools there.

Thursday morning I attended the "Tables Competition" presented by the 3 classes of the 5th standard. The previous day I had received a charming, hand-painted invitation from the 5th standard C. Ten boys had been selected from the 3 classes and they were

lined up on the stage. Three of the teachers then ran them through some very tough drills on the multiplication tables, all the way to the 16x table. Multiplication, division, fractions and ratios. They had remarkable skill in all these areas. For the ratios they had printed cards shown to them, e.g., 6/42 is as ?/168, and they produced answers within seconds. It was all oral, no paper work allowed.

In the afternoon, Larry had selected 15 good students from the four upper standards. I spent about 50 minutes chatting with them and listening to their views about a number of things, prompted by a set of general questions which I posed to them. After this enjoyable exchange, I talked with Larry for half an hour about my impressions. I did not try to pick up their names, for that would have taken me the whole 50 minutes. The names are incredible; aside from the Anglo-Indians such as John Smith, there are the many Hindi names such as Anirban Banerjee, or Mohinder Shah Singh, or Gautram Mittra, etc. It's hard to get one's tongue around some of them.

Friday morning I had a get-together with the upper standards English teachers, and presented some observations which I had gathered during the much-too-brief period of a week; offered some suggestions and entertained some questions. Fr. Gene Power had invited me to his English literature class during the period after lunch. They were in the midst of an analysis of Dickens' *Great Expectations*. This was an 11th standard class, and the piece of literature they were studying was one of the required works for the Cambridge Examination which they would take in December. These are the British school exams and, having had a chance to peruse some of the previous exam books, I know they are most demanding. Our students would have problems with them. There is this difference, however. I think in our study of literature we cover a great deal more material. For instance they devote two years to studying two Shakespearean plays and two novels. As a teacher I think I would find this a much too boring prospect. The performance of the boys on a question of character relationship and development was quite good. Immediately after the class, Gene and I went to the dining room and had afternoon tea together and talked for about an hour. Some thoughts I had on teaching a novel were shared with

him along with some observations on the class which he requested. To retrogress a few hours, I should have mentioned that Larry took me to see three classroom exhibits in the 4th and 5th standards—two were on art, one on social studies. He has done a great deal to encourage classroom displays which are quite good. Some of the boys have done remarkable art work.

Barbers' Row

While Gene and I were chatting, I mentioned that I was going to the Bazaar in town to get a haircut. Since he also wished to get one, he offered to drive me in. We went to "Barbers' Row", a series of wooden shacks, about seven or eight together, each with a couple of chairs. This was a unique experience—the old style hand clippers, much dusting of powder, and unexpressed doubts in my mind as the job proceeded. As the barber kept snipping away at the back of my head, I began to envision a large number of bare spots. Then the shaving about the ears and neck began with a straight razor and water (no soap). I thought large segments of skin were being scraped off. Then came the head massage, Indian style, with heavy thumping of hands on the head in a rhythmic pattern and rubbing and twisting of the neck and shoulders. This last part was the greatest—I would go back to India just to get another haircut—tremendously relaxing and invigorating. Then he took a large bottle with a spray on it, levelled it right in front of me, and blasted my face with the contents. Finally a wet towel gently rubbed over the face and neck and it was done. It turned out to be an excellent haircut. All this for one rupee—about 15 cents.

While I was waiting for the other barber to finish Gene, I sat watching three women beggars sitting at a curve in the lane outside the shop—a sight so very terribly typical of India. One of the three stood up with a stick for a cane or crutch. Her foot was grotesquely bent and bandaged with an incredibly filthy rag. She hobbled across the lane to a fence where a bandage replacement was hanging to dry, and with painful effort sat down again to change the bandage on her foot. The fifteen minutes or so that I watched, only one meagre contribution was dropped in their cups. A second of the three women had no hands at all. This scene and these circumstances could be multiplied *ad infinitum* throughout the land. The very commonness seems to foster unconcern.

We drove back to Loyola and arrived in time for a big basketball game between Loyola and a local boys' club. The court is a rather makeshift affair outdoors, and the rains had provided a goodly share of puddles for the encounter. During the pre-game warmup I tried my hand at a few shots (even put a couple in). Loyola trailed 16 to 4 at half-time, but the final score was 25-24. Loyola lost. Their great comeback missed in the final seconds. I was very much impressed when, after the game, one of the Loyola players came over to thank me for watching the whole game.

Dinner occurs at 6:30 on Fridays, an hour earlier than usual. Following dinner, I was invited to a show presented by the Hostel boys. Fr. John Guidera, who was resting at Loyola from his work at Chakradharpur, Larry, Joe Lacey, and I attended. Again I was struck by the ability these boys have to entertain themselves, to get up before an audience and perform. This is certainly an excellent preparation for developing poise and self-expression, something we need a good deal more of in the States. Some of the acts were pretty awful, but the general entertainment was good.

Unbeknownst to me, following the show there was a planned presentation of gifts from each of the "houses" of the hostel. I was asked to come on stage and accept the gifts. There was a representative from each house waiting in the wings and, when his name was called, he came out with a big smile and a brightly-wrapped package to give me. There were five gifts in all—a cigarette holder, a wood-carved book stand, a wood-carved set of sacred cows, a couple of knives in leather, hand-ornamented cases, and an embroidered shoulder-bag. I made the suggestion that I open them on the spot which the boys thought a good idea. It was a wonderful gesture for the boys to have done all this, and I tried to express my gratitude as adequately as possible with another "few words." I suspect that Joe Lacey was the mastermind behind the gifts.

As of today, my Indian experience was a week old and most pleasurable. Thanks to Milibis, the preventative drug, dysentery had still not struck. I was moving through a number of rolls of film which I hope will give some concreteness to this whole venture. Today was also the eve of the tour of the Vice-Province. Tony Roberts had carefully arranged this with Bill Tome. Bill took XLRI's little car, a Herald, and arrived at Loyola around 11 A.M. Larry Hunt

and also Dick Norman, who had been at Loyola for a week recuperating from another attack of amoebic dysentery, were to acompany us.

So we set out on a trip that was to cover over 300 miles. Our first stop was to be Lupungutu where we have St. Xavier's School. Lupungutu is a village on the outskirts of Chaibasa (which also looks like a village), and the entry off the main road is a dirt lane alongside a canal, now quite swollen by monsoon rains. The road, too, required some clever handling of the car to avoid puddles which could well have covered potholes as much as a foot or two deep. Our arrival at St. Xavier's was about 1 P.M. We were greeted at the faculty wing of the compound by Fr. Larry Dietrich, the headmaster, looking very much his old self, in great shape physically, crewcut and all. There were also a couple of Indian scholastics, plus about five dogs. As we moved into the building to locate a room we met the Rector, Fr. Dick McHugh, as hale and hearty as ever with the same look of devilment in his eye that I remembered from Wernersville. Then we saw Robbie Currie, a scholastic from Philadelphia in his second year of regency, who looks fine.

While the rest of the journeymen siesta-ed, Larry Dietrich and I talked for a couple of hours about old memories, mutual friends and current concerns; then we had afternoon tea with the crowd. Following this, I had a guided tour of the installation. Larry Dietrich took me first to the hostel where about 300 boys—all about our high school age—lived in a barracks-style arrangement. Most of them were sleeping after a tiring morning working at seeding a field so that their very good soccer team might have a place to play. The triple-decker bunks were intriguing—with only a pipe framework to begin with, the boys weave their own matting for their beds in a very fine and durable design. I was also intrigued by an Indian game they were playing, called "Caroms"—a flat board with a rim around it and a small hole in each corner. Something like small-sized poker chips are used with one chip as the shooter. The object was to hit the other chips into the holes. In reality, it was a form of pool, using the principle of angles and reactions off other chips to maneuver the objects into the holes. There were about four of these games in session.

All the boys here are aboriginals—Adivasi or Ho in origin, so that English is virtually unknown to them except for the excellent course they receive at the school—Robbie Currie has done a great deal in this area. Of the 300 plus boys, about 120 are Catholics. We moved on then to see the chapel, a lovely spot, built by Bro. Guy Ames who is now at Loyola School. From the chapel, we moved on to the school building which is completely separate from the H-shaped area where the hostel and faculty quarters are. It is a fine building which looks in need of some tender-loving care right now; to be dressed up a bit with something along corridors and in the classrooms, but the sheer requirement of trying to keep the place clean does not allow time for such niceties. On to the rooftop, where the clear impact of the utter isolation of this educational oasis struck with full fury. In a large pond about 200 yards away, the students who were not sleeping were swimming and washing their clothes. It was wash day—the only means available to clean clothes—and on the grass in front of the school were pants and shirts and wrap-arounds which the Indian males wear.

"On Wisconsin"

It was near supper time so we headed back. There was good banter at table and joshing over my reactions to papaya—an Indian dessert. I found it inedible, but most then admitted it took them about six months to get used to it. After dinner, we adjourned to the rec room and began a conversation which went well into the night, lubricated sporadically by a "bit of the creature." Much questioning was directed toward me; a good bit of the time centered on the new dimension of community life called dialogue. The five dogs provided interim distraction as they caught bugs and other creatures that flew into the room. Shop closed around 11:30. But before leaving this point, much delightful background music had been provided for us by Larry Dietrich, who was rehearsing between 8 and 9 with the boys. It was Xavier's new school song, just composed that morning—to the tune of "On Wisconsin" with a dash of the Southern California marching song. We could hear the clear refrain "On St. Xavier's, On St. Xavier's" with the strange accent. Their soccer team has done quite well this season, and with this song they should go all the way.

It was not difficult to sleep well in an air-conditioned room—the

only one they have—and so graciously given to the visiting father. Quite obviously, as the days went on, their great pleasure in having a stateside visitor could not be indicated clearly enough. There was no end to their display of charity. I awoke in the morning around 7:30, and Bill Tome and I concelebrated Mass. Following Mass, we sat around the breakfast table for more conversation, and on to the rec room for some relaxing. Shortly after this I went to my room and wrote a letter on recent events to the Loyola Community in Baltimore.

Following lunch, we took up a bridge game—I've played but a couple of games in ten years—with Bro. Merlin Pereira, Larry Hunt, and Dick Norman. Larry and I got soundly trounced by about 3000 points. My rustiness at the game came through clearly, but it was enjoyable. Then on to afternoon tea; we said goodbye to Dick McHugh and Larry Dietrich, who were heading in to Chaibasa for a soccer match between St. Xavier's and some local team. These farewells would not be final since all the men would be coming to Loyola for the province education meeting on August 14th and 15th. As we drove off, a heavy monsoon cloud drew near and the downpour started, so in driving back along the road, we faced more puddles than when we came in.

It is now Sunday P.M., August 6th, and our little Herald under Bill Tome's dexterous hands bounced along toward Chaibasa and to a visit with John Deeney who has been at this spot for years, doing a magnificent job among the Ho people of his parish. The main street (?) of Chaibasa was a monumental mess. Again the dirt, the dark and lopsided shops, hundreds of milling, disheveled people and children, and, of course, the lords of the land, the cattle and water buffaloes, strategically placed in the middle of the road, just lying there or lackadaisically moving along. All this plus a downpour of rain from heavy, gray skies. What a sight to behold!

The rectory was located and John was there to greet us. Fr. Carl Dincher, his companion there, was in Jamshedpur that day. It was a dismal place, discolored and run-down with the bare necessities of life in evidence and not much more. We drew up some chairs and chatted for a bit. John gave me some history and background on the place. An encouraging statistic: in 1951 the parish diary recorded 35 communions of a Sunday; there are now over 500 per Sunday.

Conversions among the people are great in number. Generally, a whole family will move into the Church together; John said there are at least two families a week. And no pressure is being exerted. As a matter of fact, any pressure would create a turmoil with the government; they are dead set against these conversions.

There are close to 200 boys who eat and sleep and attend school in the parish compound—in rather primitive conditions. We went out to watch them in the chow line and Dick Norman talked with them in their Ho language. Before we left, John showed us some of the pagan sacrifice materials he had taken from converted families —leaves in which they fold up charms to appease the gods of the harvest and rain, some monkey skulls, etc. He also showed us a large trunkful of index cards on which he is recording his dictionary of the Ho language. It looks to be an almost impossible job. A typical example I picked up: *sab-baragur*, a verb meaning "to let something round slip from your hand while picking it up from the ground." Would you believe it? What a contribution this will be when the work is finished!

A new church

The church they have used lately is a large hall which is also the classroom for the boys. Carl Dincher has a new church under construction, about 3 minutes by car from the original sight—on the edge of Chaibasa. John suggested that we be sure to see it. Two years have already gone into the construction of it. It was designed by a Jesuit priest-architect from Ranchi in northern India. There is no doubt that it will be a showplace for miles around when it is completed. The interior is fan-shaped with the altar in the center, facing the people. The windows are large and unique in design; the brick work is excellently done. Detached from the church is a huge bell tower which will undoubtedly be the highest building in all of north Bihar. At the base of the tower is the baptistry. Building is slow, but they build well. Most of the work is done by hand. To see the scaffolding many stories high, all made of bamboo poles which are interlaced and appear as curvy lines going up many stories high—I don't think I would even place a foot on it, but apparently it is quite strong. It will be a magnificent church for India, attractive, tasteful, and beautifully executed.

Now it was around 5:30 P.M., and the next stop would be

Chakradharpur. As you travel along the open roads beyond the villages and towns, it is a beautiful sight to view the magnificent trees lining both sides of the road—one of the permanent vestiges of British rule in the land. The trees were planted to give shade to the British troops during their long marches. In many areas, they constitute the only refreshing relief in a barren landscape. On the way to Chakradharpur (or CKP as most of the men call it—abbreviations help with some of these long Indian names), there were flatlands with acres and acres of rice paddies—a beautiful shade of light green, prospering in the monsoon rains. The fields are terraced to hold the water. Frequently a man would be guiding a team of oxen through the rice-paddy. No one seemed to quite know what the purpose of this was. Countless people were working at gathering bunches of the young rice shoots, binding them so they would be ready for transplanting to other fields for the second stage in the growth process. Mostly women were engaged in this—bent double for hours gathering the rice, some wearing a characteristic covering made from large leaves interwoven to protect them against the torrential rains. With the thousands on thousands of rice fields, you can see why rice appears with remarkable frequency on the dining tables of the land. Herds of goats and sheep, cows and water buffaloes added patches of life to the landscape—or, it would seem, more frequently to the road. Countless times the car would move toward a cow wandering down the road and, most of the time, a stop was necessary until the cow had made its decision on which side to move.

Our conversation as we proceeded centered a good bit on the beginnings and development of our mission stations. Dick Norman, who has had experience in almost all locations, offered a fine commentary along the way. Much indeed has been achieved by our men in a period less than twenty years in duration—an excellent school system: three thriving schools educating over 2000 boys; about seven fine parishes, many of which have schools linked with them; the Institute of Industrial Relations.

A good case in point is CKP where we arrived about 7 P.M. Again a wonderful welcome from Fr. Jack Blandin, the former Provincial, and Fr. John Bingham, just a month back from the States. This is Fr. John Guidera's charge and he has accomplished

a great deal (thanks to some very wonderful support from many friends in Baltimore). Their new living quarters, which vaguely resemble a small American motel, is *totaliter aliter* from the rat-infested cottage they had lived in up to a year ago. Seven or eight good sized living rooms are set off on an L-shaped verandah. Jack Blandin got us settled in rooms; then we washed up. Another larger room is a combination dining room and recreation area. We let ourselves relax for a most pleasant evening. Some pre-prandials before dinner helped a good bit. For dinner, we had some tasty canned food from the states—corn beef and spaghetti. Fully satisfied, we left the table to continue our discussion until 11:30.

One of the rooms toward the front of the compound is for about 60 Ho youngsters who spend all their day at the parish. Before dinner, John Bingham brought us into the room where they were studying, sitting on mats on the floor—in perfect order and quiet. John spoke to them in Ho and told them where I hailed from, adding a comment about my size which they got a good laugh out of. Before we retired, we returned to the room where they were all fast asleep on the mats. It was really something to see as we shot a flashlight over the group. John Guidera later told me there were another 100 boys in the Church. These youngsters bring their own supply of rice from home, and on a rare occasion the Fathers try to supply them with some kind of meat.

John Bingham showed us on a map the extensive range of mission stations which they care for. Jack Blandin works with the people on a fine cooperative system run by a Belgian Jesuit out of Ranchi. According to John Guidera, it has done more to help the people than anything else. Each year this cooperative makes a handsome profit, all of which is poured back into buying fertilizer or building storage places for these poor farmers.

My sleep that night was not too good since a mosquito had hidden in the mosquito net and continued to ambush me through the night. In the morning, all four of the travellers concelebrated Mass in the church; we made some intentions at the Prayer of the Faithful which centered on the work of the missionaries. After a good breakfast, we got ready for departure. As we moved about, the opportunity to watch John Bingham in operation with some of the parishioners presented itself. John is entertaining to watch, but it

is obvious that the people feel this is a place of refuge in their troubles.

It was now about 9:30, Monday, August 7th. The next chunk of mileage would be a big one—up to Ranchi, and then over to Dhanbad where De Nobili School is situated. On the way to Ranchi, we passed through the famous Ghat, which is the entry way to the plateau area of Ranchi. The hills there are really small mountains and the road twists and winds its way through verdant countryside—very green and gorgeous in the monsoon season. As we approached the top, we stopped for a breather and took in the panoramic view of the sweeping valley we had just passed through. There are supposed to be elephants and monkeys in the area, but they were not showing themselves for us that day. Once through the Ghat, the road to Ranchi had a sameness to it. Here and there along the way were sets of buildings called "block developments," intended as centers of operation for districts. They appeared very much in a state of non-use, yet they were probably the finest buildings for miles around. I noticed a number of such attempts in India which, either through poor planning or complete misunderstanding of the real needs of this country, took on the semblance of futile "gestures", a word which Bill Tome liked to use in reference to this predicament. There were such "gestures" in buildings, in people's actions, in the administration of towns, in town planning, etc. This was just another dimension of the contradiction and contrast so prevalent in the land. Perhaps with the fantastic scope of problems India faces, "gestures" are the only possibilities.

Government

The government of the country is in utter turmoil. Any day the whole land could burst at the seams, and total riot and revolution develop. The Congress Party lost control in the last election. This is the party which had been giving some kind of balance to India since they achieved their independence. The Communist Party of India grew in strength and along with a number of other groups have presented a movement called "The United Front" to the electorate. The Jan Sangh party, desirous of having the Hindi language and nothing else, is picking up strength. There are all forms of protest riots—sit-downs on railroad tracks, blocking off traffic with mass marches, students stoning the homes of college

presidents, and the famous "Gherao" treatment which the labor force is now using against management. Huge numbers of workers will surround the home of a manager and keep him and his family completely cut off from all supplies and communications for days. And when they corner them in other places outside their houses, they may be forced to sleep in a small room, have no food (to the point of death by starvation), and be forced to take care of their natural functions in the same place.

Back to the Ranchi Road. We arrived in Ranchi about 12:30 P.M. and, to break our trip a bit, we decided to have lunch at the BNR restaurant, run lately by the railroads. It was a very nice spot and the meal was delicious. My ability to take some highly seasoned Indian food was proven successful. The preventative medicine was still working effectively. After our leisurely lunch, we took to the road again, heading through the heart of Ranchi. The usual scenes of confusion, milling throngs, roaming cattle, hodge-podge of shops, tea houses, and stores were much in evidence. We passed through the "Catholic quarter," where for three or four blocks run a series of Catholic establishments. The Ranchi Mission under the guidance of the Belgian Jesuits has been one of the most successful in all of India. There was a Jesuit college, a Jesuit high school, the Archbishop's residence (a Jesuit) and the Ranchi Press (another Jesuit operation).

Soon we were out in open country again and heading for DeNobili. This segment of the journey took us about four and one-half hours. It was not too long before we hit some of the best roads in India. They were wide and well paved—a good bit of this stretch ran beside the fields where the American bomber installations were located for the flights into Burma during World War II. Remnants of some of the buildings were still dotting the landscape. Eventually we came to the outlying areas of Jairia and Dhanbad. Massive iron structures bridged the road. They supported a pulley system which transported iron buckets of sand. You could see these moving back and forth all over the countryside (we were to find one right in the back yard of DeNobili. Once, when the boys were playing soccer, the ball landed in one of the buckets and was carried off). Coal mining is the big industry in the area and we passed through rows and rows of incredibly miserable hovels where

the miners lived. Returning from their day's labors, they were coated with coal dust—the very picture of despair. Is this living as a human being? A frightening question which forces itself to the forefront of the mind with inexorable frequency as you travel through this country.

Mercifully the turnoff to DeNobili School appeared shortly. Again the impression of an oasis in the middle of a desert of dirt and confusion. The school is painted a light grey with crimson trim, St. Joe's Prep's colors, reminding me of my old Alma Mater. Three floors of veranda-style classrooms and living quarters. The grass and gardens around the front entrance were colorful and carefully manicured. Now it was 7 P.M. or thereabouts. We were greeted by Fr. Joe Kennedy, the rector, and Fr. George Hess, the headmaster, Ed Martin, an American scholastic whose home is in northern Virginia, and a number of Indian scholastics and brothers. Rooms were provided immediately and a welcome shower freshened us up.

In the fine rec-room, we gathered for cocktails and conversation, then a buffet-style repast. All the while we were enjoying the very fine stereo set which George Hess had lugged back from the States just a week before. At one point in the evening, Larry Hunt, after watching Fr. Dick Lane-Smith show off his pet python, gathered the courage to have the python put around his neck like a necklace. I took a picture of the event—hope it turns out. Then I got the nerve to try the same thing and my picture was also taken. That night I had one of the best sleeps I have had since arrival in India. The gracious concern of the hosts took care of putting a mosquito net on the bed and spraying the room before I retired.

On Tuesday morning, August 8th, Bill, Larry, and I concelebrated again. After breakfast, George Hess took me on a tour of the school. Out in the front of the building it was interesting to see about twenty women in their gay saris working at leveling a field which was to be the main soccer area. They were wielding mattocks, scooping dirt into large pans and then carrying the pans on their heads to a less level spot where it was dumped. The Jesuits have picked up a good bit of property around the school. The original lot was quite small. About 300 yards in back of the school, another school for the lower standards is under construction —a part of DeNobili—and about 300 yards to the front, living

quarters for the lay staff are being built. Joe Kennedy took me on a tour of these areas. As we moved about, I managed to step on a nail which pierced right through my sandal but fortunately did not break the skin.

Swerves

Along the route home, there were some narrow stretches of road with wide shoulders which the rains have turned into large mud puddles. This presented real problems since trucks and taxis are masters of the road (as they are everywhere), and our little Herald was pushed off the road a number of times. We got adept at picking out spots that were not too soggy. Some of the most striking scenery of my stay occurred during this ride. We were riding on the edge of a monsoon cloud for about an hour and it was around the sunset time. In the distance to our right, the streaks of downpouring rain, the heavy cloud suffused by orange and pink from the setting sun, in front of us brilliantly clear skies with white puffs of clouds, also reflecting the colors of the sun, and all the hills and landscape visible with the clarity and sharpness which we have on a clear, cold winter's day. It was a breathtaking sight.

Darkness had fallen by the time we hit the new road into Jamshedpur—another fine road (how little we appreciate our American road system!). Speed could be increased on this road, but some of the usual obstacles were still there as we came suddenly upon two mammouth black (to increase the problem) water buffaloes walking in the road. We missed them with a nice swerve.

When we reached Loyola School, I realized that it had been a great tour, most enjoyable and profitable. It afforded me a much broader realization and appreciation of the make-up of the country. Poor Bill Tome must have been terribly tired for he drove every mile of the way—and driving in India is a feat of the first order.

It is now Wednesday, August 9th. Another aside here—as I write, I am puffing on an Indian cheroot, a cigar that might well cure my addiction. And the matches here are absolutely the quintessence of frustration. They have no such thing as book matches. They are all wooden and in boxes. There is an absolutely unpredictable character about them. To strike one ten times on the side is not unusual, but I have already been burnt by one that popped off just as I touched it to the side. There is also the overhead fan, present

everywhere, and a remarkable help in dispersing the Indian heat. (They seem far more effective than our floor or table fans.) But in order to light a cigar or cigarette, one has to move off into a distant corner to escape the competition of the fan with the unpredictable matches.

More visits

It was back to work at Loyola on Wednesday. I was asked to be a judge for a lower standard elocution contest. Twelve boys competed. These youngsters seem to have remarkable memories and also that amazing ability for appearing in public with poise and aplomb. This was over around 11 A.M., and with the twelve boys there was not one slip of memory in their five minute presentations. The rest of the morning was spent trying to catch up on this diary. At 2 P.M., Fr. Ken Judge wished to chat for a while, and we did for about two hours. Finally, at 5 P.M., Gene Power came in and we discussed guidance and extra-curriculars for over an hour. The rest of the day, I continued on the diary. I was beginning to catch up with the present.

On Thursday, John Guidera drove me over to see Little Flower School which was built by the Telco Co. and has been handed over to the Mercy nuns from Philly to administer. Among them are Sr. Mary Virginia (from St. Benedict's parish) and Sr. Tomasina, the principal, whose brother, Fr. Mike Kavanaugh, presently stationed at our parish in Dhanbad, I had met just a few weeks before coming to India at the affair which Bill Howe ran for Larry Dietrich. They are a great duo. It is a beautiful school, looking like—very much like—a nun's school in the states. There is that touch which goes with them no matter where they are. All was sparkling and bright. There are 700 students from kindergarten to the 7th standard. After a brief tour during which we visited a couple of classes and received the chorus of "Good morning, Fathers. You are most welcome" and "Goodbye Fathers. Please come again"—all with bows and curtsies, we enjoyed a cup of coffee together and we talked for about a half hour.

John then drove me to the Bazaar in Jamshedpur where I purchased some gifts for my relatives and friends, among them some lovely handmade things which were quite inexpensive. The day before Fr. Barney Murray had invited me into his class for the next

morning, so we hurried back for this at 11:50. Barney (67 yrs. of age) asked me if I would like to ask a few questions on a Paul Horgan short story, "The Surgeon and the Nun," so I took over the last twenty minutes of the class and enjoyed it immensely. There is an incident in the story about acute appendicitis, and I was flabbergasted when I asked how many had their appendices out to learn that none of the thirty-five had. Apparently it is a most uncommon occurrence throughout the country. Maybe living is too rich over here?

In the afternoon I took my first siesta of the trip for about an hour. Said Mass around 5:30 P.M. Then at 6 P.M. I attended a sodality meeting in the hostel to which Joe Lacey had invited me. Since a large number of the usual Thursday evening dinner crowd was with Bishop Picachy for a concelebration and dinner in honor of his feastday of St. Lawrence, our gathering at Loyola was quite small. After a buffet dinner we had a bridge game—Gene Power, Ed McGrath, Mike Love and myself. On the second hand I managed to go down 6 tricks doubled—a trick in itself.

Friday, August 11th, was a busy day. I was invited to Standard 5-C to view an exhibit of their work. This was at 9:20 A.M. At 10:20, there was a gathering in the teachers' room to say farewell to Steve Buttling, a British Volunteer Service Organization man (a VSO as they call them) who has worked at Loyola since last January, teaching 27 periods of math a week. (The VSO is a group in Britain comparable to our Peace Corps.) At 11:50, there was the installation of the new officers and a farewell by the students to Steve and to me, since they would be on holiday from now until next Wednesday. Naturally I was called on to speak another "few words." Then the ball point pens which I had brought with me from the Loyola Bookstore were distributed by me to the students who had achieved honors in the last marking period. Before presenting the pens, I explained the figure of the Don which was on the pen. After this came an exchange of gifts. I presented a Loyola High School banner which Dick Schmidt, the assistant headmaster there, had given me to the President of the Student Council, Aninda Bose, then he presented me with a beautiful wooden serving tray with inlaid ivory and wood.

At 1:15, I attended Mr. Derrick Ward's 8th standard class and

was presented with one of the student's art pieces. Then Larry asked me if I would give some kind of summary report to the entire faculty at 3:30. So I spoke to them for a half hour until about 4:00. We adjourned then to the teachers' room for tea and I said goodbye to many of the lay teachers, a very impressive group of men and women.

Now it is Saturday morning, August 12th (my sister Alice's birthday). The men from the Vice-Province are beginning to move in for the education meeting on Monday. Dick McHugh, Ed Martin and Joe Kennedy are here. At 10:00 A.M. I met with Mrs. Suri, the guidance counselor at Loyola for about an hour and a half. She is a very impressive person in whom Larry places great confidence. The whole idea of guidance is quite an innovation in India. I was able to get a good bit of reading done for the next few hours. Then, about 3 P.M., I had another talk with Ken Judge. Shortly after that, Ken and I went to visit an American woman, Mrs. Cherian, who is married to an Indian. She is a Jewess and what a talker. We had some tea and some enjoyable conversation for about an hour. On our way here, Ken and I stopped at a store in Jamshedpur to purchase some "mild" cigars.

Dinner was early this evening. Just before dinner, I met H. Cornell Bradley, a theologian, who had just arrived from Kurseong for the education meeting. He looks a great deal thinner than the last time I saw him, several years ago in the States. He has another year to go before ordination. Following dinner there was a movie, "Cheyenne Autumn," which was scheduled for last night but due to some delays caused by the squatters on the railroad tracks, it arrived only today. It was awful but diverting. Following the movie, John Guidera, Joe Lacey, Ed Martin, Larry, and I had a good bull session in my room.

On Sunday, I woke at my usual time—7:30 A.M. Did some reading of Sylvia-Ashton Warner's *Teacher* for about an hour or so after breakfast. Around 10:00, Larry arranged a meeting with some teachers. Took another siesta this afternoon; am really feeling bushed as I come to the end of my jaunt to India. For dinner that evening, I had received another invitation from XLRI—my last visit before departure. Left there about 10:30 P.M. When I got back to my room, Larry, John Guidera, and H. Bradley were there,

so we sat for another hour or so and talked about Kurseong and other things (ships and shoes and sealing wax; cabbages and kings).

This morning, the eve of the Assumption, August 14th, the province education meeting began at 8:30. Over 30 Jesuits were in attendance. The morning session was rather lethal, too scattershot—it seemed that the agenda was too extensive for worthwhile treatment of any point. In the afternoon H. Bradley presented a very fine paper on in-service training of teachers, a program developed by a Jesuit in a school near Kurseong, and in which Joe Currie, another theologian and Robbie Currie's older brother, and H. are key figures. The paper prompted much worthwhile discussion.

Later in the afternoon, George Hess drove me into Jamshedpur to pick up a few items for the folks back home. Got a couple of good color shots of the loitering cattle. After dinner we had a practice for the concelebrated Mass for Bro. Oscar Rodericks' final vows tomorrow at St. Mary's, N Road. I spent a bit of time after this reading *Meditations on the Church* until 10:30 when John Guidera and Larry Hunt dropped in for an hour or so.

On Tuesday, August 15th, I awoke the earliest hour since I've been here—5:30 A.M.—in order to concelebrate Brother's vow Mass at 7 A.M. The Mass went quite well with the five concelebrants: George Hess, Dick Lane-Smith, Tony Roberts, Joe Rodericks, Oscar's brother, and myself. We returned to Loyola School for a first-class breakfast. I couldn't help but reminisce that this was the 17th anniversary of my first vows as a Jesuit.

Today in India is also Independence Day. The flag-raising ceremony is the big feature of the day (the Indian flag can be flown only on two days during the year). Loyola had its own ceremony with the Scout troop of Loyola and the one from St. Xavier's in Lupungutu. They have a lovely custom of folding flower blossoms inside the flag and when the cord is pulled—in this case it was perfectly done by Larry Hunt—the flag opens and the flower blossoms flutter to the ground. I got a color shot of this which I hope turns out well. Immediately after this, the last session of the education meeting took place. The discussion centered on the question of quantity or quality in our mission schools. There was some good exchange, concluded by some excellent comments, perceptive and emphatic, by the Provincial, Tony Roberts.

After lunch, Larry Hunt, John Guidera, and I went to Lake Dimna, a beautiful reservoir outside Jamshedpur. It is situated in the high hills there. The heat was very stifling as we walked about for fifteen minutes along the edge of the lake. I was really exhausted. The temperature was close to 100. It gave you an idea of how insufferable the hot season must be when temperatures often soar to the 130 degree mark. Later in the afternoon, I wrote a thank-you note to the community and another to the school staff.

Beginning at 6 P.M., there was an excellent first-class buffet dinner with drinks in honor of the Assumption and Bro. Oscar's vow day. During the course of the festivities, Larry Hunt kindly expressed the thanks of all for my coming and, to end things fittingly, I was called on "to say a few words." I couldn't help but take the opportunity to thank all of them for their most gracious hospitality —all around the province, and to emphasize to them what an impact and impression one receives when he views the terrific amount of work that has been accomplished in a relatively short time. After dinner we all went to see the movie arranged for the day, "Hud."

Last minute preparations for departure began after the movie—around 9:30. There was a crowd in my room wishing me well for the trip back and profusely thanking me. As I said before, their appreciation in seeing a statesider knows no bounds. Joe Lacey drove me to the station in Jamshedpur. Larry Dietrich, Merlin Pereira, and Ed Martin also saw us off (Ken Judge very kindly would accompany me to Calcutta). The train was scheduled to depart at 11:35. It finally left at 12:45. While we waited, we managed to procure two spots on the air-conditioned car. So we barged in on two Indian men who were already asleep in the lower berths. I have to admit I had a bit of difficulty maneuvering in that upper berth. The train was scheduled to arrive in Calcutta at 6 A.M. We crept into Calcutta station at 12:30 P.M.—not bad, only 6 and half hours late.

Calcutta did not seem as bad as it had three weeks before; it's amazing how much you can get used to. The taxi drive from the Howra station to St. Xavier's still beats any New York City taxi ride by 100 miles. We grabbed some lunch; then I took a two-hour snooze, since the rest on the train last evening was fitful and I was thinking of the twenty-eight straight hours of plane flight ahead of

me. I awoke around 4 P.M., and Ken and I concelebrated Mass. Tea followed, then a shower, and off to do some last minute shopping at the Cureo Palace in New Market, the famous market place of Calcutta. An intriguing spot. We held onto the taxi so that we would be sure to have one for the airport ride. They can be impossible to get during the Calcutta rush hour. After shopping, we returned to Xavier's and packed and dressed. The taxi drive to Dum Dum Airport was another hair-raising excursion. And people? Everywhere and in between everywhere too.

Heading for home

Had some trouble with my bags because they were overweight again, but they finally got through with no trouble and no added expense. The customs checkout was at Calcutta instead of Bombay, which made things easier. The flight on the Air India Boeing 707 left Calcutta at 9 P.M. Ken and I sat for about twenty minutes, chatting about my three incredible weeks in India. It certainly flew by and I think I saw much and did much in that time. The only Maryland mission man that I failed to see was Fr. Dick Neu, whose parish was up near De Nobili, but time did not allow for a visit. One has to be impressed with the generosity of our Maryland Province in the men they have contributed to the Indian mission. They are the cream of the crop, and have done a fantastic job for the Lord in a country not at all familiar with him. The bus to bring the passengers to the plane drew up; I bid my farewells to Ken and was soon soaring over the night lights of Calcutta.

On the flight to Bombay, I sat next to a Hindi man and we had a long conversation about our respective religions. He was very perceptive, but he had difficulty in seeing the Jesuits as part of the Catholic Church; he thought it an heretical offshoot or something. All I could think of was that famous question: "Are you a Catholic priest or a Jesuit?" Got to Bombay at 11 P.M.; had a two hour layover here for the London flight. From Bombay on, the time gets all jumbled up. The flight to Beirut took us 5½ hours; we stopped here for an hour, as we had done on the way to India. Then on to Rome where we landed after a three hour cruise at about 7 A.M. (Rome time). It was a bright sunny day. The Leonardo Da Vinci Airport is quite an impressive place; unfortunately, that was all I saw of the Holy City. Perhaps there is some distinction in being

able to say that I simply passed over Rome and not through it? We took off for Frankfurt after an hour layover. On the flight north, we had a clear view of the island of Elba, Napoleon's place of exile. Then the Italian Alps covered with snow; they were magnificent. Got a camera shot of them through the plane window. At this point I have been flying pretty steady for about 16 hours; not much solid sleep and periodic stomach cramps besides. Arrived in Frankfurt, Germany at 8:30 Central European time (my watch now reads 1:30 P.M.).

The flight from Frankfurt to London was pleasant, a bit over an hour. The London airport was jammed, but in my discomfort I did not feel much like enjoying the spectacle. Did get a laugh from watching a large group of teenagers who had themselves a songfest in the middle of the terminal. They were composing a song about the delays of TWA which was very clever. The TWA Silver-stream jet took off from London about 12:30. According to New York time, we landed at Kennedy at 3:30, but the flight was over seven hours in duration—a bit interminable to me after all my travelling, now about 20,000 miles, plus the stomach cramps, etc. There was a young couple sitting next to me, but I just wasn't in the mood to chat with anyone. We passed a few comments back and forth and that was it. As you looked out the window of the jet, you could see two other jets heading for New York also, and a few jet streams besides. The traffic is quite heavy; we had to switch our altitude by 300 feet after we got up because of this.

About a week before I left India, I had written to my cousin in New York that I would be getting in on an Air India flight at this time. There had been a last minute switch to the TWA. When I arrived I saw no one there; I thought they would come to the customs dismissal point (which they did), and I would catch them there. Somehow or other we missed each other. I waited for an hour, then I called their home. They had returned home. My cousin Al left immediately; arrived in about 15 minutes and picked me up. It was very good to see someone you know after 28 hours coming around the world by yourself. At his mother's we had a delicious dinner and relaxed. When I checked the trains to Baltimore, I found the next was at 2 A.M., so I decided to stay at my cousin's overnight. That was a blessing.

Woke the next morning around 9:30. It was August 18th. I went in to Penn Station with Elizabeth; she was going to meet her daughter and her husband in the city. Met Fr. Thad Burch in the station, and so I had company on the train ride to Baltimore. This was without any doubt the worst part of my whole trip; it was well into the nineties and the air-conditioning unit in the train was broken. The old Pennsy always comes through to remind you that there are still some difficulties connected with travel. Mike Burch left me at Friendship at the start of the trip, and it was Mike who picked me up at the train station on my return.

That's it.

HISTORICAL NOTE: THE COUNCIL OF SCHOLASTICS OF THE BUFFALO PROVINCE

On april 22, 1967, nine delegates, partly elected and partly appointed, arrived at Canisius College to set up the Council of Scholastics of the Buffalo Province. Meeting with Rev. Fr. Provincial Cornelius Carr, the delegates formulated the basic purposes and structure of the Council. From the first, the Council was conceived as an independent body within the usual provincial structures springing from the interest and approval of the scholastics. The delegates saw it as serving the interests not just of the scholastics but of the whole province, since the scholastics constitute a large and integral portion of the Province and since they will inherit present problems and apostolates. Final crystallization of these views was left to a committee of three, which submitted the first draft of the *Constitution* to all the scholastics of the Province for comment and revision. Scholastic meetings at Cazenovia, Auriesville, and Clarence Center resolved specific problems concerned with the Council's functioning. Finally, a fifth and last draft received the two-thirds vote of approval on September 18, 1967, and election procedures were immediately initiated.

Already the Council has issued a number of reports on *informationes*, norms for choosing the individual's course of studies, and recommendations on the Province merger. No doubt, the Council will undergo further radical revision upon unification of the Buffalo and New York Provinces, but certain basic insights have been explicitated and precedents set.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF SCHOLASTICS OF THE BUFFALO PROVINCE

I

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE, FUNCTION, AND SCOPE

The Council of Scholastics is an advisory board for the Province. Its function is:

1) To secure information and opinion necessary and helpful for deci-

sions in matters pertaining to scholastics. The Council and its representatives are constantly available for consultation by the provincial and province consultors.

2) To facilitate communication both within the Province and between provinces. The Council will seek to act as an effective channel facilitating the exchange of ideas among the scholastics of the Province, and between the scholastics and any person or body within or outside the Province. (*Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, 9, I, 10.)

3) To formulate questions and make specific recommendations concerning Province policies, particularly in matters pertaining to scholastics.

4) To appoint delegates to other consulting bodies of the Province. (*Documents of the 31st General Congregation*, 17, IV, 6.)

II

COMPOSITION

A) Members

1) The Council of Scholastics will be composed of one elected delegate from each of the following:

a) Novices of the Buffalo Province
b) Loyola Seminary
c) Canisius High School
d) McQuaid Jesuit High School
e) Canisius College
f) LeMoyne College
g) Weston College
h) Woodstock College
i) One elected delegate who is a scholastic in special studies and resident in the New York City-New Haven area. He will represent all scholastics in special studies and those living outside the Province who are not otherwise represented.

2) For each delegate elected, an alternate will also be elected who will replace the elected delegate in the event the elected delegate cannot attend a meeting of the Council. The alternate has the same powers as the elected delegate at the meeting.

3) Upon the election of a chairman by the Council, the alternate from that house will become the regular delegate representing that house.

4) The election of the delegate and alternate will occur within the above named houses during the month of September. The term of office

of the delegate and his alternate is for one year. Each delegate has one vote.

B) Council Officers

1) The chairman will be elected annually by a majority vote of the Council. He will preside at Council meetings, and appoint committee heads and the individual members of these committees with the majority approval of the Council. He will also preside at the open forums of scholastics and with the approval of the Council call for and preside at special meetings. He will also be the representative of the Council at province consultors' meetings whenever matters pertaining to scholastics are discussed. Further, the chairman will report in person on the activities of the Council to province consultors.

2) The secretary will be elected annually by a majority vote of the Council to take the minutes and distribute them to various houses of the Province. He shall also submit a summary of the minutes to the *Jesuit Jottings.* It is the responsibility of the secretary to publish committee reports.

3) In the event of the absence of the chairman or the secretary or both, the Council will elect an officer for that meeting with all the powers of the office he assumes.

C) Non-members

1) Experts: With the approval of the majority of the Council, non-members may be invited to Council meetings as *periti* with the power to speak but not to vote.

2) Council Committees may be composed of members or non-members of the Council who are appointed by the Council chairman with the majority approval of the Council. Each committee, however, must have at least one Council member in it.

III

MEETINGS

A) Meetings of the Council

1) The Council will meet four times a year for a full day. These meetings will occur on a Saturday in the months of October, December, February and April. The meetings will be held alternately at Shrub Oak, Rochester, Syracuse, and Buffalo. A quorum will consist of six members.

2) Regularly scheduled meetings of the Council are open to anyone who wishes to attend. Non-members may speak at the discretion of

the chairman. The approval to speak at these meetings extended to a non-member does not entitle him to vote.

3) The meetings will consist of a morning and afternoon session. The provincial will be invited to be present at the afternoon session.

B) Open Forums

In addition, the Council will hold two forums each year which are open to all scholastics to discuss matters of general concern. At these forums every scholastic has the right to speak. One of these open forums will be held at the spring triduum or during the Easter vacation.

C) Communications

Any scholastic can submit matter he wishes to be considered by the Council through his representative or directly to the chairman. On special problems, however, the Council will actively solicit the opinions of the scholastics.

IV

THE CONSTITUTION

A) Ratification

The final draft of the *Constitution* will be proposed to all scholastics of the Buffalo Province, and will become effective when ratified by an approval of two-thirds of these scholastics. This *Constitution* will remain in effect until revised in the light of the unification of the Buffalo and New York Provinces.

B) Amendments

The procedure for amending the *Constitution* is the following:

a) Any scholastic can propose an amendment in writing through his delegate or through the chairman of the Council.

b) With the approval of a simple majority of the membership of an afternoon meeting of the Council the amendment may be proposed to the scholastics for a vote.

c) The Council will determine a reasonable length of time within which the ballots can be returned. The proposed amendment becomes effective upon the approval of two-thirds of the scholastics who have responded by that date.

Robert D. Coursey, S.J.
William T. Ivory, S.J.

THREE VIEWS OF AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Fr. John L'Heureux's recently published Picnic in Babylon *(Macmillan, $6.95) is primarily a history of himself during his residence at Woodstock College from 1963 to 1967. But person and place have a way of intertwining, and so Babylon-Woodstock lives on in these pages as Fr. L'Heureux writes of his four year captivity beside the streams of the Patapsco.*

1963–1967. These years marked the proclamation of the Age of Change for the Church. In Picnic in Babylon *the reader finds this era internalized in the response of a Jesuit poet; sometimes happy, sometimes sad, his response plays inside a bright prose written in the meticulously concrete mode of his best poems.*

Since Woodstock in 1967 is contemplating a move to its own Zion, it is good that Picnic in Babylon *is published now, a diary for future generations of "what it was like in the old days." To celebrate the publication,* WOODSTOCK LETTERS *has asked three reviewers to comment on the diary: Sr. Maura, S.S.N.D., English Department Chairman at Baltimore's Notre Dame College and a poetess in her own right; Rev. Edwin D. Cuffe, S.J., Professor of English at Fordham University and the Chairman of its Honors Program; and Rev. G. Michael McCrossin, S.J., a graduate student at the University of Chicago and a member of Fr. L'Heureux's own year.*

I

Every poet says what he is. Modestly, he is a "sayer." Sweepingly, he is a seer. The poet is a man girted with language. The poet is a person who writes poetry. Kenneth Rexroth says "the poet is one who creates the sacramental relationship that lasts always." At the least, the poet is a person for whom life will not "slip by like a field mouse/not shaking the grass."

John L'Heureux is a poet with the witness of his poems to speak for him. But *Picnic in Babylon* speaks in other ways about his poetry and about him. In keeping a journal that records his creative approach to the priesthood, and his creative approach to communication, Fr. L'Heu-

reux has chosen a patently difficult work. Not only is he the person who sees, hears, and feels, but he is the poet who makes use of his responses: out of them he makes an artifact. But the keeper of the journal must write down (remembering the editorial suggestion followed by the publisher's contract) *how* he had used his responses. He watches himself respond to stimuli, and then switches on another high-powered self-awareness to watch himself responding. To a certain extent, he must try to make himself insensitive to the reaction which his report may bring from those who read his journal. If he is not free to report honestly, he hardly has the freedom to be fully a person.

It is difficult enough for most men to keep a private journal with integrity. It is a formidable task to keep a journal knowing that the pages will be read by anyone at all.

Recording his experience as a writer, Fr. L'Heureux is generous in giving not only—from time to time—the incentive for the writing, the incident, encounter, but the complete poem as well. The reader finds more than fifteen poems in the journal. Contemplating poems like that—recorded in their setting—a good reader can have the same pleasure he has at hearing the poet read. There is always the possibility that the background will give him a clue, a direction which will lead him—more surely to share the poet's experience. More—he may sometimes almost *hear* the tone. And to sense and respond to tone is, in many cases, a singular delight.

Irony, wit, and marginalia

As a marginal on the making of the poem there is the phrase, word, a few lines, perhaps, that share with the reader the ease or the difficulty of the act of making. Some wonderfully sharp poems are so framed for the reader: the ironic and witty "Compliance," part of the *tour de force* "An Investigation into the Nature, Function, and Attendant Circumstances of Radiators." The outline of the plan for the long poem in memory of John Kennedy is here. When one has listened to the poet delivering the rich rhetoric of that poem, response is deepened by the knowledge of the ideal, the beginnings and the development of the poem.

Fr. L'Heureux remarks on the writers who stimulate him, Virginia Woolf and Edward Albee; the artists whom he has met, Carolyn Kizer, Reed Whittemore, Muriel Spark. His comments italicize his awareness of himself as a writer in the contemporary world. There are accounts of poetry readings, lectures, writers' conferences which will make gossipy reading for the uninitiate, and wry reminders of the human condition in the arts for the initiate.

There is talk of the publishing trade, acceptances and rejections (more

of the former); reviews; the acid word; the honest praise. Fr. L'Heureux's rush of words, and swift output of poems (only rarely does he comment on a period of dryness) could make the unwary feel the lure of the writers' magazine advertisements—"You, too, can be a successful writer. . . ," though he, of course, knows creative achievement is hard won. For Fr. L'Heureux, even while the poet wrestles with the angels, the simple truth remains: God is patient with his poets.

The crux of the poet's problem is not—how many books do I get off to the publisher, not even how am I received by the public. The deep question is—what, before God, am I? Given a call to creative action with words, and given the call to be Christ in the world as priest—he asks—does the one call negate the other? is the one call more insistent than the other? is it true—as Karl Rahner suggests—that they may blend perfectly in the priest-poet?

Fr. L'Heureux is naturally hesitant to accept Karl Rahner's thesis totally, though it is an ideal answer. He writes of the problem gravely and honestly; he hopes for answers, but he knows that *waiting* for answers is the greater part of living.

To read the book will probably be "good" for readers who are poets as all men who wonder are poets, or for poets who work at the craft. It may be "good" for the poet who wrote the book, too, but good in a painful, cleansing way. He will have the record at his hand three months from now, two years from now, ten years. Most writers find it difficult to look at their early work after a period of time, because growing continues and the writer is willing enough to put aside the initial heady, "Here is what I wrote. I think it's pretty good."

Perhaps the prayer that unriddles these problems is the courageous one Fr. L'Heureux devised for his ordination card:

> Lord,
> Make me your bread.
> Then break me up
> And pass me around.

The things that are deepest: holiness, joy, suffering are only hinted at in poems and journals. But they proclaim the mystery and the Lord of mystery who hears prayers and passes around bread.

SISTER MAURA, S.S.N.D.

II

Will the real John L'Heureux please stand up?

The John L'Heureux image projected in the poems of *Quick as*

Dandelions and *Rubrics for a Revolution* is one thing. The John L'Heureux one hears about from his friends is another. But the image that steps from the pages (or peeks out from between the lines) of *Picnic in Babylon* is something else again. Something less likeable.

One might as well come right out with it now and say that the present reviewer is not very happy about *Picnic*, regards it as a tactical error, and is somewhat at a loss in deciding what to say about it.

Goodies and absences

The book is a diary or journal of four—well, really of three—years of a man "doing" theology at Woodstock. Not my Woodstock, nor yours, but a Woodstock very much in a state of transition, and the Woodstock of Gus Weigel, of Courtney Murray, of Avery Dulles, of Felix Cardegna. The journal is full of goodies (the style of the book, if not Augustan, is contagious), a net full of various fish: aphorisms, a limerick (brought back from Vatican II by Gus Weigel), some poems, some pieces of poems, a sermon, anecdotes, a parody (of Updike), opinions of books, some dreams, an experimental canon, epitaphs from a country cemetery in Maryland, an account of a visit to Albee's apartment (but not to Albee), *et cetera.*

The writer's interests are far ranging, and yet there are certain things you would expect to find in a Woodstock diary of the years 1963–1966 that aren't there. I don't remember even once coming upon the name Viet Nam, or Selma, or, except for one incidental mention, Pope John. Dan Berrigan is mentioned, but only as the winner of the Lamont award.

Writing a diary for publication is a very ticklish thing. The ground is mined, the booby traps everywhere. John L'Heureux is not unaware of this:

> . . . writing something that somebody is going to read induces a certain formality, a certain persona, and then you're just playing a part. (January 11, 1964)
>
> The notion of a very personal journal gives me the willies. This one seems already too naked and I don't like walking around naked in a room full of clothed people. I'm not like Merton, you know; I have to go on living with people, teaching, studying, etc., *after* the damned journal appears in print. (July 27, 1964)
>
> The temptation will be, I imagine, to let these pages in on the story of "what's really going on." And then I'll find myself writing things that ought never to be written and making myself ashamed. On the other hand it might be a good thing to embarrass myself a little. (August 31, 1964)
>
> It's all very well to be wide open about people you love and what their love means and what Christ has to do with all this. It's quite another thing to publish your lucubrations on these matters. Isn't it an awful lot like undressing

in public? Admittedly, you may undress to show the teeth marks where you were bitten by the tiger; nonetheless you're still naked. Further, why show your tiger scars? I like to think people should know that priests are people and have emotions and experience personal crises. But should people know? Is it possible to let them know without terrible misunderstandings, without their being scandalized? Maybe this whole month should be dropped right out of the journal. (January 12, 1966)

The difficulties are recognized and the proper rhetorical questions asked. Lines of defense and justification are suggested: people should know that priests are people; it might be a good thing to embarrass one's self a bit. Public relations for one thing; therapy for another.

Any journal, I suppose, written with absolute candor would be fascinating, and probably frightful. Only a cad would publish one. (Sam Pepys was not writing for publication.) John L'Heureux, no cad, must have omitted a world of event for reasons of prudence and charity. One couldn't demand or expect from him anything other than a partial and radically pruned relation of events.

But his book might have profited had it included more of the "objective" delight in things that is evident in some of L'Heureux's best poems, in leaves, cats, sunlight, wind . . . and had it excluded some of the over-intense and not always very penetrating self-regard. More windows and fewer mirrors. The genre itself—if journals constitute a genre—contains a built-in danger, the temptation to the writer to become overemphatic, self-dramatizing, and self-conscious to a paralyzing degree:

I'm not bitter, only deeply scarred, and that accounts for the fact that I look at things differently from most men. It is as if I had in some mysterious way passed through the Second World War in Europe, seen prison camps, worked in the underground. As if existentialism . . . were my kindergarten. Why do I think this . . . ? (October 10, 1965)

The reason why he thinks this can be found on page 219 of *Picnic*, but let's not bother now. He does have a sense of humor that sometimes saves the day ("Aren't we being cosmic this morning?"), but not often enough.

Contagious

Sometimes parody can say what straightforward comment can't. The style of *Picnic is* contagious, the temptation overpowering, the flesh weak. So—hang on; what's good enough for Updike . . . (The following presented with the proper apologies):

Friday, 1 April

My birthday; seven birthday cards and twelve of my zany and delightful friends going out of their way to wish me a happy day. Why do people like me so? *Joie, joie, pleurs de joie*! Love is the only thing that makes sense.

Tuesday, 2 April

A large wet cat asleep in my head, also two dark butterflies. Nerves all raw ends. Why am I so unlikeable? Restless and floppy. Rain. Why does the world keep going around?

Wednesday, 5 April

All my friends are mad and delightful. I know now what makes the world go round. Rahner is right; so is Schillebeeckx; so is Victor Herbert. Matt dropped in for tea (Matt Arnold, the Oxford type); showed him the six most recent book reviews I'd written. He tells me that my spelling is pretty good but that I lack something that he calls "high seriousness". Try *that* one on, Ambrosiaster!

Tuesday, 10 April

Shakespeare: Shakespeare is *good*. Period. I mean, really. I *love* Shakespeare. Or do I, really? Question mark.

Wednesday, 14 April

A Hamlet without feeling is a fine body and a brilliant mind without a soul. Period. I wonder does *Woodstock Letters* pay for book reviews? Maybe they'll send me a check. God accomplishes his will in funny ways. Relax, Ambrosiaster. Go to bed.

Monday, 1 May

Quel nerves! Like naked wires. And all those old tiger scars—how they ache! It's just that I *do* understand the horrors of contemporary existence: all those suicides, genocides, fratricides, regicides, pesticides . . . Grief!

Friday, 10 May

Nerves all out at the ends of my fingers. Fingernails all gone. Unbelievable, blinding pain in my earlobes. With all that, how can I castigate a world gone mad with self-indulgence? Inadequacy, thy name is Ambrosiaster! Later. Took walk; read some tombstones; feeling better. The maple trees are lovely—or are they Norwegian spruce?

Saturday, 12 May

Adelaide writes that Edmund Wilson was overheard saying: "When Ambrosiaster reviews a book, it stays reviewed." Blah! He said much nicer things about Ernest Hemingway.

Saturday, 18 May

All my friends are zany and wonderful. Why do they all tell me I'm so 'alive', especially when I'm ready to drop in my tracks from self-pity and these earlobes? That, Ambrosiaster, is called 'life'.

Saturday, 20 May

Death is a terrible thing. God works (mostly) through secondary causes. There is no love without involvement. Allen Ginsberg is a hollow man. Muriel Spark is OK. Later. Terrible depression; shattering pain in the earlobes.

Friday, 21 May

Reading a book called *Picnic in Babylon*, and came across: "perhaps my vocation as a writer is not to be a poet or a dramatist but merely to spend the

rest of my life passing comment on what real writers are writing. What a dreary possibility." OK, Ambrosiaster, try *that* one on! Howdya like *them* apples?

Enough!

When Robert Browning's "Pauline" was published (1833) it was sent for review to John Stuart Mill. Mill's review was not published but later fell into the hands of the young poet. The effects were traumatic, but, probably, in the long run beneficial. The intense self-consciousness that Mill discovered in Browning's work was not altogether different from what a later and lesser reviewer finds in *Picnic*. Should this review ever fall into the author's hands may the effects be, if not traumatic, at least helpful.

The enterprise under review is, it seems to me, to put it briefly and bluntly, a mistake. This is not L'Heureux's *métier*. The distancing and transformation of experience that he manages in verse is perhaps not possible in a journal. I imagine that he will regret publishing *Picnic*. As it stands, however, it *is* an indication and a proof of that energy and that boldness that a creative writer must have and which so many of his fellow Woodstock alumni, all those mute, inglorious non-writing writers have so sadly lacked.

Edwin D. Cuffe, S.J.

III

Reading John L'Heureux's *Picnic in Babylon*, feeling those years during which we were both preparing for ordination at Woodstock College come alive again, is an experience both pleasant and strange. Pleasant because once-familiar people and places, now already beginning to grow dim, are vividly recreated. Ice on the swimming pool and walks down country lanes, bats in the recreation room and God knows what in the room next door, teachers and friends and the people whom one met but never knew, like sections in the library passed by on the way to one's own area of study. And strange. Strange because of the chance the book offers for seeing an environment through another's eyes. There is the shock of recognition ("That's just the way it was!") and the hint of understanding ("So that's what you were thinking!") and the more frightening awareness of failure in vision ("But I never thought . . ."). Or perhaps it is only a part of what Joseph Sittler calls "the total dubiety of the real"—rather as if our common opthalmologist has, for reasons unknown, given us glasses ground to similar but not quite identical specifications.

At any rate, there is a similarity in our experience of Woodstock. That has the disadvantage of making aesthetic judgments questionable (and personal ones perhaps even more so). But it has the advantage of allowing comments which could be, for others, only surmise. There is, for instance, the question of what light *Picnic in Babylon* sheds on the education of a priest. What kind of place was Woodstock? *Picnic* is a very personal record, as a journal ought to be. As a source of information on seminary life it is perhaps as important for what it doesn't say as for what it does. The years 1963 to 1967 were, after all, rather momentous years in the life of the world and of the Church. An increasingly bloody and embittering war in Vietnam, the hope and disaster of the civil rights movement (our first summer was the time of the March on Washington, our next to last the time of Watts), the shifting movements of Vatican II ("Hopes very high, expectations very low," Gus Weigel said at the beginning), the death of a President.

A world of its own

Alone among the public events of the period, John Kennedy's death looms large in the book. It had its profound impact on the author as man, poet, and Christian. Of the other events, little or nothing. Nor can it be said that L'Heureux's concerns were elsewhere, that he was not interested in "public" events, only in private ones. There is evidence enough that he was conscious of and reacted to whatever was largely present in the environment. The sad fact is that the world outside of Woodstock did not establish itself significantly within that invisible *cordon sanitaire* that enclosed the seminary mentality. Others have noted the "total institution" structure of the seminary, something it has in common with prisons and asylums. Well, it is true, or was so. Woodstock was a world of its own in the early sixties. It could and did manage to exist free-floating, a place where the laws which govern life elsewhere were apparently held in abeyance. Apparently, I say, because it is changing; the "old Woodstock" is breaking up from pressure within and without.

And that is all to the good; but it does not alter the fact that the lack of influence from the world without the gates is a difficulty with *Picnic*. The book is about a great event: the making of a priest. But this event is played out against a background, an environment which was unreal, even trivial in its dimensions. The message of God—to whom? A priest forever—for whom? And what did it all have to do with war and civil rights and curial maneuvering, with life and death in the world past the front door where, after all, even priests must live? There were discussions of this aplenty at Woodstock, but too many, too often,

were held in an atmosphere from which the air of reality had already been removed. If L'Heureux does not take much notice of that sort of talk, it is a good thing. But what is missing in the book is not awareness or sensitivity; what is missing is a whole side of human life: the public side. This lack of weight in the life of Woodstock cannot help being felt in the book. The private side of man, his interiority, needs to be spun out in the midst of larger and coarser material.

That for the negative side. It is not a criticism of the book, which has, I think, revealed the situation all too well. It is a criticism of the seminary as it has existed and still exists in many places. The criticism is called forth by the book, however. But other things are called forth by the book as well, things more positive and pleasing.

Picnic in Babylon is a journal about the growth of a man. That has its disadvantages. It means, for instance, that there is a good deal of immaturity present, especially in the earlier parts of the book. It is just the reverse of Ogden Nash's couplet, "The only trouble with a kitten is that/ It becomes a cat." Here the endpoint is splendid, but the movement towards it can be funny or irritating or occasionally sad. But human beings do develop; occasional glimpses of unpleasant clumsiness are the price we have to pay if we want to see the breath-taking process as it really is.

The early parts of the book are filled, for instance, with self-conscious efforts to be and sound like a Christian. Talking about a show which was put on at Woodstock mid-way through first year, L'Heureux says: "The show was staged in only two weeks, brilliantly done, with an expenditure of imagination that was Christianly lavish" (p. 39). That, to my mind, has a forced ring to it, somewhat like those dreadful cautions to "keep recollected" that were hurled about in the novitiate. If you're trying, you're not. It is, however, something that L'Heureux recognizes. Eight or nine months after the comment above, he discovers a note he had written in the late 1950s: " 'We do not think of Alexander Pope as great or magnanimous; he was unquestionably maladjusted to society, bitter, small, spiteful. That is the privilege of the artist. Only the critic can afford to sit back and peck at the foibles and idiosyncrasies of genius. Generally the artist is too occupied with creations to do much self-evaluation. That his genius should cost him the title of 'perfect normality' is understandable. The two are not compatible. Every artist is queer to some degree.' " And L'Heureux's 1964 comment: "Listen to the tone: I sound like Moses giving a performance of the Ten Commandments. Reading the note now, I can't help wondering in which direction I was working: trying to excuse my foibles by a plea of genius or—more likely—trying to appear a genius because of my too evident foibles. In

any case the note is funny and a little bit sad" (p. 130). Right you are, John.

But there is more complexity at work here than a simple recognition of one's faults. Take, for instance, the following which, in late 1965, L'Heureux quotes with approval from the *National Catholic Reporter*: " 'The sign of the Spirit is not agreement, but rather the love that is strong enough to support diversity. Where Christ's love is concretely effective in persons who live together, all are accepted, all are trusted, all are listened to, all are taken seriously as unique members of Christ' " (p. 232). That is a splendid statement; but its very splendor can serve to cover the danger it contains. There are those who, in their effort to trust all, listen to all, take all seriously, lose the capacity to be themselves, to make judgments, to respond as men who are not themselves cosmic but only very limited things. In the process the people lose the knack of "sending the very best": themselves. It is, I suppose, the paradox of understanding the value and uniqueness of others (and oneself) only through a recognition of the limitations and failures of others (and oneself). Where John L'Heureux stood in 1965 on just this point is not entirely clear. Perhaps for that reason I prefer the following: "A friend is someone who leaves you with all your freedom intact but who, by what he thinks of you, obliges you to be fully what you are" (p. 208).

The last statement quoted above is, I think, more in keeping with the man who has come into being as the journal approaches the day of ordination. It is the L'Heureux who can say "I'm happy. To hell with grief. L'Heureux shall overcome" (p. 241). And he does. He overcomes not by putting on the mantle of Christianity, not by assuming a role, but by becoming a Christian and, thus, himself. One wonders if there is not evidence here applying to the dispute about forensic justification. A man limited, rather snappy on occasion, perhaps too worried still of his effect on others, but through and through a man and a Christian for all that. A friend once told him during the recovery period following an illness, "You're feeling better today, I can tell. The circle of your malice is extending to include other people" (p. 297). It is not malice, of course, which marks the priest who has come into being. But it is a man unafraid to judge others because he has learned to judge himself. It is no accident, I think, that the book is so much stronger at its end than at the beginning. The man who wrote it has become stronger. The talk about books is less precious; the views of self and others are less self-conscious. Life is lived here on a deeper level. It is the work of a man who has come to see himself and all others as existing under the sign of judgment. And it is this, finally, which makes *Picnic in Babylon* a success.

G. Michael McCrossin, S.J.

IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY

A Modern Scriptural Approach to the Spiritual Exercises. By David M. Stanley, S.J. Chicago: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, in cooperation with Loyola University Press, 1967. Pp. xviii + 358. $7.50.

The Spiritual Exercises have a very large scriptural element in their make-up, and it is only natural that intelligent people who use them would rather not occupy themselves in their meditations and contemplations with the obsolete and antiquated notions that former generations of seminarians heard presented in their biblical courses. Persons interested in the *Exercises* also know that in the theory and practice of retreats, as in so many other matters in the Church today, there is a certain rethinking and refashioning in progress. Or it may happen that a priest who made his studies some years ago has to give a retreat now and would rather not betray an ignorance that would excite pity or mild contempt or subdued laughter on the part of younger and better informed hearers.

Fr. Stanley is Professor of New Testament Studies at Regis College, at Willowdale, near Toronto, Canada. For three years he did similar work as a professor in the University of Iowa. He has written considerably, and is one of the better known leaders among Catholics in biblical studies in the United States and Canada.

"The purpose of this book may appear to be a fairly grandiose one: to provide some exemplification of the way in which the twentieth century achievements of biblical scholarship may be pressed into service in giving the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius to men of the present day" (p. 1). In the introduction the author develops the principle that Sacred Scripture should serve us as a normative guide to religious experience. It is our foremost font of knowledge about God, his relations toward us, and his dealings with our whole race. Hence the stringent necessity of getting the best possible acquaintance with it. It furnishes us our great account of "the divine-human dialogue," revealing what God said or did, and what our response should be. More particularly, the Gospels are the indispensable treasure-store for those who wish to practice Ignatian contemplation. Scripture opens out for us what Fr. Stanley calls "biblical spirituality." A retreat made in the light of it, in view of the spiritual experiences of the prophets, the apostles, John, Paul, etc., could prove to be a magnificent stimulus to respond to God in just the same heroic way in which they did.

While making the *Exercises*, a person following Fr. Stanley's guidance

would incidentally learn much that might be new to him in scriptural problems. Especially interesting and illuminating should be the explanations offered, for instance, of the infancy narratives, of how the Gospels came to be produced, of history and apologetics, and of the Jewish *midrash*.

At the end of the book there is a very valuable and informative "Glossary of Terms." In it, technical expressions from the *Exercises* and from the scriptural sciences, many of them in Hebrew or Greek, are listed and explained. This glossary by itself is something like a little introduction to modern biblical learning.

Fr. Stanley's work grew out of a retreat given to Jesuit theological students at St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas, during Easter week in 1964, as ordination was approaching. These young men had already made St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* ten or twelve times, knew them well, had the book at hand, and could always consult it. Hence the author did not at all intend to write anything like a commentary or an explanation of the text. Instead of that, utilizing scriptural history, prophecy, and wisdom, and drawing on a profound knowledge of the biblical sciences as they exist today, he proposed material which one who is following the themes and general order of the *Exercises* could use in his meditations.

Thus, one who is endeavoring to renew and deepen one's life of commitment to God by the *Exercises* could at the same time be learning much about the literature of the Old and New Testaments. The emphasis of the book is to inspire a more profound union with God, to stimulate personal sanctity, and to fill one with apostolic zeal. In particular, the retreatant is always being invited to enter the ongoing salvation history as it pertains to him as an individual.

"Fidelity to the spirit if not always to the letter of the Ignatian structure has been a constant concern of the author" (p. 327). One exercise on the election of Israel opens the retreat. Corresponding to the "principle and foundation" there are two: one on the "prayer of the creature," and the other on "loving what you find," on choosing the better things, that is, those that are more conducive to the ultimate end. For the rest of the first week, there is no difficulty about presenting an abundance of matter from the Bible on sin and repentance.

St. Ignatius' "kingdom of Christ" is enforced with reflections on the events of Palm Sunday. The temptations of Jesus are developed so as to bring out the lessons of the "two standards." The sermon on the mount furnishes thoughts apt to illustrate the three degrees of humility and the true doctrine of our Lord. The final exercise, "To obtain love," is illuminated from the record of God's affectionate overtures to Israel. It

also suggests the characteristic Ignatian ideal of "finding God in all things." Fr. Stanley adds: "The optimistic, incarnational theology of a Père Pierre Teilhard de Chardin undoubtedly derives its inspiration from this source" (p. 331).

Certain notes appear to mark what one might term the author's spirituality. First of all, he insists over and over again on the importance of centering one's attention on the death and resurrection of Christ, and in a very special way on the latter, the victory and glory of the resurrection. This practice would give one's whole outlook and attitude a positive quality and an attraction that are missing when the emphasis is on the passion and death of Christ. A second characteristic, referred to above, is that we are constantly called upon to enter into the divine scheme of salvation-history, existentially, each one, individually, here and now, in his uniqueness. Every person has a peculiar role to play in it, not only for his own sake, but also for the common good of the whole body of the Elect. Again, besides being thoroughly biblical and liturgical, a disciple of Fr. Stanley would discerningly and earnestly attune his interior life and spirit to present day needs. The Scriptures were written with an eye to the exigencies of their time, so however that an intelligent reader can and should understand them as peculiarly applicable to his own contemporary situation.

The author gives considerable space to distinctively Jesuit spirituality. Thus there is Chapter XV, "*Simul in Actione Contemplativus.*"* This Jesuit ideal is clarified from St. Paul's prayer for the Philippians ("May your love grow richer . . .," Phil. 1:9-11), from his example as a suffering servant of God, and from "Pauline discernment." In general, much is also made of the discernment of spirits; this is proposed in another chapter as characteristic of Paul as well as of Ignatius. In one of the last exercises, in the fourth week, under the heading, "The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:2), it is shown what an identity there is between Paul's doctrine on freedom vs. law and Ignatius' "primacy of the spirit," the interior law of love and charity (pp. 308-15). A whole chapter is given to the devotion to the Sacred Heart. A diagnosis is offered of the difficulties this form of piety has had in the past, and suggestions are made as to how they should be remedied in the future.

Filling the Ignatian form with biblical matter, Fr. Stanley's work is heartily recommended to all who would like to make a retreat of that kind. The work should mark a major step forward in the history of the *Spiritual Exercises.*

AUGUSTINE G. ELLARD, S.J.

* Fr. Stanley has already stressed this, as well as some other points in Jesuit spirituality, in "The Liturgical Word, The Spiritual Exercises, The Jesuit Response," Woodstock Letters 93 (1964), 345-60.

TEILHARD DE CHARDIN:

A Survey of the Recent Literature

(Listing prepared and commented upon by Brian O. McDermott, S.J., who is currently teaching a course in the theology of Teilhard at Woodstock College, where he is a third-year theologian.)

Each year since 1956 the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* has published a complete bibliography of all the works in all languages about Teilhard that have appeared that year. Between 1956 and 1965 the listing, which always forms part of the July-December issue, runs to almost one thousand entries. The composer of the bibliographies in the *Archivum* has done the public a great service in offering a selective bibliography of works by and about Teilhard. Ladislaus Pogár's *Internationale Teilhard-Bibliographie 1955–1965* (Freiburg and Munich: Verlag Karl Alber, 1965) closes at June, 1965.

The best bibliography of Teilhard's own writings, both published and unpublished, is to be found in Claude Cuénot's *Teilhard de Chardin: A Biographical Study* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965). This massive work traces the stages of Teilhard's development and makes frequent use of his letters, many of which have not appeared elsewhere. For this commentator the most instructive aspect of Cuénot's book is the emphasis given to Teilhard as a member of a research team. For Teilhard a prime analogate of the kind of "unanimization" that planetary man is heading toward is the experience of the scientific research team working as one man to foster a common truth. When the reader finishes Cuénot's biography he sees Teilhard for what he primarily was: not the author, the speculative mind, but Teilhard the man of research, a leader in a community of leaders.

Works by Teilhard in English

Teilhard wrote three books; the third has not shared in the limelight accorded the two which preceded it in publication. *Man's Place in Nature: The Human Zoological Group* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) was completed in 1949 and submitted to the ecclesiastical authorities in the following year. Unfortunately, its fate was the same as that experienced by *The Divine Milieu* and *The Phenomenon of Man*: because

it went beyond the bounds of science and Teilhard's "competence," it was not approved. Now that it belongs to the public it can serve as a companion essay for *The Phenomenon of Man*. Anyone who has tried manfully to fight his way through the first three sections of Teilhard's larger work will find all the basic themes of those sections (as well as those of the concluding section) given sharp expression in *Man's Place in Nature*.

Two large collections of Teilhard's essays have appeared in English recently. The first, *The Appearance of Man* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), is the more specialized, and of less importance for one who is interested in the "wider issues" in Teilhard's thought. Most of the articles first appeared in scientific journals, and a few in *Études*. While there are dated elements in these essays, their importance for the serious student of Teilhard is undeniable. For the reader with more general interests, however, *The Vision of the Past* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967) possesses greater value. These essays on the nature of evolution and the validity of its concept date from 1921 up to the year of the author's death. It is interesting to trace, on the one hand, Teilhard's defense of the transformist position in the Catholic world, and on the other, his defense of a kind of orthogenesis in the scientific world. The articles make abundantly clear what their author meant when he wrote in *The Phenomenon of Man*: "Is evolution a theory, a system or a hypothesis? It is much more: it is a general condition to which all theories, all hypotheses, all systems must bow and which they must satisfy henceforword if they are to be thinkable and true" (p. 219). "Evolution" in this sentence refers not to transformism but to the general framework in which science moves, the framework of a universe that is a system of interconnections into which everything is *born*. The articles in this collection are for the most part quite intelligible for the reader who is a layman (biologically speaking!).

Hymn of the Universe (New York: Harper and Row, 1965) is a small volume. While it does not contain an essay bearing the title of the book, it does offer moments of high lyricism in praise of matter as divinized by the presence of Christ. Here can be found the oft-quoted "Mass on the World" written by Teilhard in 1923, as well as three "stories" written during World War I. "The Spiritual Power of Matter" was written in 1919 while the author was in Jersey. A collection of *pensées* chosen by Fernande Tardival completes the volume. Even if it draws on sources that, for the most part, have already been published, it has the virtue of bringing together some of the more frequently quoted pas-

sages. The language in this collection of meditations and *pensées* is sometimes extreme, but N. M. Wildiers and Henri de Lubac have shown that here a virile orthodoxy is simply seeking a voice faithful to the vision.

Five essays and conferences written between 1931 and 1941 are gathered together in *Building the Earth* (Wilkes-Barre: Dimension Books, 1965). While the format of the book is objectionable (Teilhard *cum* snowflakes!), the essays are urgent in tone. Of paramount importance for Teilhard was the need for a "human energetics" whose mainspring would be hope. These essays are about that hope.

Teilhard's letters and essays

Since 1965 four collections of Teilhard's letters have appeared in English. *The Making of a Mind: Letters from a Soldier-Priest: 1914–1919* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965) is the best single collection of letters that has appeared. The most explosive period of Teilhard's theological life occurred right in the midst of World War I. During that time he wrote more than twenty essays of a theological and mystical character (see below) while at the same time maintaining an extensive correspondence. The letters in this collection are addressed to his cousin Marguerite, a woman of real spiritual stature, with whom Teilhard felt a deep affinity. In this correspondence Teilhard is revealed as a sensitive spiritual counsellor as well as a man of enormous faith. His assessment of the war as the birth pangs of a higher unification of man on earth was not a naive optimism but a severely tested hope. *The Making of a Mind* is highly recommended.

Correspondence: Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Maurice Blondel (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967) is edited and commented on by Henri de Lubac. Although these two great men did finally meet, their correspondence in this volume is addressed to Auguste Valensin, S.J., who introduced Blondel to Teilhard's World War I essays. Both thinkers were deeply interested in expressing the Christian fact in such a way that a modern man could no longer remain indifferent to it; this similarity of intention, however, could not disguise real differences in method and approach. Père de Lubac's commentary is lengthy and succeeds in sharpening, without exaggerating, the agreement and disagreement between these giants.

The literature by and about Teilhard is vast. That is why it is an odd sort of pleasure not to have to recommend two other collections of letters to the reader who does not want to become acquainted with Teilhard in an exhaustive way. *Letters from Egypt: 1905–1908* (New York: Herder

and Herder, 1965) contains correspondence written by Teilhard the regent to his parents in France. *Letters from Paris: 1912–1914* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967) is a translation of the second half of a French collection of letters written when Teilhard was a theologian in Sussex, England and a student of natural science in Paris, before he was drafted into the army. Valuable in certain respects, these collections are not indispensable for one entering *le monde teilhardien.*

In 1968 Harper and Row will publish a translation of *Écrits du temps de la guerre 1916–1919* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1965). This collection is invaluable, for it contains the twenty surviving theological and mystical essays that Teilhard wrote while serving in the army during World War I. All the essays are important, but commentators have made the most use of *La Vie cosmique*, *La Lutte contre la multitude*, *Le Milieu mystique*, *L'Union créatrice*, *Mon Univers*, *Le Prêtre* and *Les Noms de la matière.* Many, but not all, of the theological themes of the mature Teilhard are first developed in these essays, written during the only creative period of his life in which he was not "under a shadow."

Science et Christ (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1965) is the latest addition to the *Oeuvres de Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.* The articles date from 1919 to 1955 and have a common theme: the relation of the Christian phenomenon to the scientific phenomenon, that is, the problem of the evangelization of the modern world. Hopefully, Harper and Row will soon publish a translation of this volume as well as of the sixth and seventh volumes in the series (*L'Énergie humaine* and *L'Activation de l'énergie*) which appeared earlier.

Léontine Zanta was a close friend of Teilhard and the first woman in France to become a doctor of philosophy. Teilhard's letters to her (*Lettres à Léontine Zanta* [Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965]) were written between 1923 and 1939, for the most part in China. They reveal much about the feelings and thoughts of Teilhard the exile, his disappointment, impatience, and hope. Once again Père de Lubac offers an illuminating introduction which complements that of a former colleague of Mlle. Zanta, Robert Garric.

Theological studies in English

Surely the best single study of Teilhard's Christology and its role in his thought generally is Christopher F. Mooney's *Teilhard de Chardin and the Mystery of Christ* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966). Mooney exhibits a firm control of the sources, both published and unpublished. First he probes the importance of the problem of death in Teilhard's

search for an *issue* for evolution, then follows Teilhard as he constructs an hypothesis to render coherent the emergence of human consciousness in our entropized universe; the hypothesis, finally, is validated by the Christian fact: the Cosmic Christ, revealed in his universal import in the Christian phylum, the Church. Mooney's discussion of Johannine and Pauline themes is particularly striking in view of the fact that Teilhard developed his theological insights in relative isolation from the world of theologians; when he corresponded with a Charles, a Valensin, or a de Lubac he was in touch with the best, but it remains true that many of his ideas were born and preserved in theological solitude. One vital area in which closer discussion with theologians would have aided Teilhard's vision is his theology of the redemption. Mooney calls attention to the supreme irony of Teilhard's thought: his opinions on original sin "seem to have caused a mental block which prevented him from seeing any relationship whatsoever between the success of evolution and the reparation made by Christ for the sins of the world." Perhaps there is a philosophical irony at work as well. Teilhard gave more and more emphasis to the personalizing forces present in the universe on its way to hominization, but, at decisive moments in his thinking, he preferred to treat sin only according to its "objective face," as an impersonal dimension of evolution. Yet the Noosphere is an envelope of thinking *centers* and thus an objective (i.e., coherent and full) consideration of evil on this level would have to incorporate consideration of the mystery of human freedom and sin. This is demanded by the exigencies of Teilhard's own personalism.

A briefer and generally reliable study of Teilhard's Christology is by an Ecuadorian, Francisco Bravo: *Christ in the Thought of Teilhard de Chardin* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967). The sketch of Teilhard's phenomenology is too brief to be a good introduction, but the later chapters delineate well the elements of the Jesuit scientist's Christology. An interesting parallel is drawn at one point between Teilhard and Karl Rahner's Christology. Recently, Rahner has put his central concept (*Selbstvollzug*, or self-transcendence) to work in a way that brings him very close to Teilhard's thinking. This reviewer would like to recommend Bravo's book, but it seems overpriced.

Robert L. Faricy's recent study, *Teilhard de Chardin's Theology of the Christian in the World* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967) provides in three chapters a clear and reliable summary of Teilhard's methodology and problematic before moving into the specific question of the significance of the Christian vocation for Teilhard. Especially noteworthy

is the analysis of Teilhard's understanding of evil, both physical and moral. Faricy's discussion makes it clear that a universe conceived in Teilhardian terms necessarily involves disorder and failure on all levels, even the most spiritual (viz., man's freedom), although this necessity is expressible only statistically and not with reference to concrete individuals. It might be worthwhile for theologians to ask themselves whether Teilhard's "objective" view of sin is not the negative face of (and therefore only analogous to) the deep truth of our faith that God's victory in Christ was such that God's triumph will always "show up" in the living faith of the Christian community as long as history lasts, without the believer's freedom being jeopardized by the already-won victory in Christ. If someone was going to read but one book about Teilhard, this commentator would recommend Faricy's. Actually, the clarity of style and comprehensive nature of the treatment do the recommending themselves.

It is interesting to note that Henri de Lubac's *The Religion of Teilhard de Chardin* (New York: Desclée, 1967) appears in English translation five years after its appearance in France. It is most unfortunate that this helpful work was delayed from reaching the English-speaking world, apparently because of Curial pressures. The book is defensive and analytical. In a sense, its apologetic nature is the source of its shortcomings and its glory. Its shortcomings: Père de Lubac is compelled time and again to turn the reader away from a penetrating appraisal of Teilhard's thought in order to do him justice in the face of the (often unfair) criticisms directed at him. Its glory: by virtue of his intimate acquaintance with Teilhard's thought and his close friendship with the man, de Lubac is able to defend Teilhard's orthodoxy in a definitive way, while at the same time criticizing him when he feels that it is called for. In de Lubac, Teilhard meets the richness of the Christian tradition and he does not fare badly at all. One of de Lubac's most significant contributions is his defense of Teilhard's position regarding the relation of nature and grace. Where Teilhard's formulation is less than happy, de Lubac is able to re-insert the extreme expressions into the more fundamental, vigorously orthodox intention of their author.

De Lubac's smaller book, *Teilhard de Chardin: The Man and His Meaning* (New York: Hawthorne, 1965) is less ambitious than his great apologia. The book comprises two studies, the first of which sheds light on the fundamental dimensions of Teilhard's faith. Doctrinal considerations are of only secondary importance here. The second essay is frankly defensive in tone and intent. Teilhard's 1934 essay on apologetics (still

unpublished), *Comment je crois*, had come under heavy attack from several quarters. Some of the criticism, not content to remain with the essay, struck at the integrity of its author. De Lubac, alive to the difficulties inherent in Teilhard's mode of expression and the "experimental" nature of the essay, offers a fair defense of Teilhard's intentions and performance.

There is beginning to be an embarrassment of riches in regard to fair and illuminating theological analyses of Teilhard! Piet Smulders, S.J., formerly a professor at the Jesuit theologate in Maastrict, Holland and now a member of the faculty of the theological center in Amsterdam is the author of *The Design of Teilhard de Chardin: An Essay in Theological Reflection* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1967). It was unavoidable that much of the theological analysis contained in this volume coincides, more or less, with portions of books mentioned above. Particularly informative in this study are the sections dealing with evolution and original sin and the theological dimension of the question of monogenism versus polygenism. Finally, it would be useful to compare Smulder's treatment of creation in Teilhard to the discussions of the same issue in Mooney and de Lubac.

The relation of spirit to matter in an evolving universe is a key philosophical and theological problem in Teilhard's whole vision. In his *Teilhard and the Creation of the Soul* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1967), Robert North, S.J., addresses himself to this problem and several others as well. The erudition of this Scripture scholar and theologian is amazing. When not discussing Teilhard's phenomenology or the Biblical account of man's origins, he is discoursing on Neo-Lamarckism and Neo-Darwinism, or the Scotist-Thomist debate on the motive of the Incarnation, or Rahner's metaphysics of hominization. (Incidentally, Rahner wrote the introduction to North's book, and he promises a completely revised *Quaestiones Disputatae* monograph on the problem of polygenism and original sin.) Because of the style in which it is written and the wide range of ideas, North's book is not easy reading. Nor is it a handsome book. Among the indices one will find a list of all the articles by Teilhard that have appeared in collections together with a listing of his published books and letters.

Teilhard has found a sympathetic Anglican commentator in Michael H. Murray, whose *The Thought of Teilhard de Chardin: An Introduction* (New York: Seabury, 1966) is meant to be a primer for those who are unfamiliar with Teilhard. It is a good book, but not exceptional, and it exhibits a tendency of the author to move from a consideration of Teil-

hard's thought to reflections which are more the author's than the Jesuit's. While this has the merit of revealing an affinity between Teilhard and some basic convictions of non-Roman Christianity, it might have been better if he had brought out more fully the substance of Teilhard's ideas. The last chapter on Teilhard's methodology is very interesting for the comparison it offers between the Jesuit paleontologist's views regarding the relation of science and faith and those of Michael Polanyi (*Personal Knowledge*) and Thomas Kuhn (*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*). The heuristic passion which led Teilhard to move out beyond the acquired and accepted boundaries of the specialized sciences (and the heuristic passion that inspires any creative scientist) finds an analogue in the Christian's "conquest" of truth in the surrender of faith. A sophisticated confrontation between science and faith in our contemporary world requires a confrontation of faith and science at their liveliest moments, for it is at that juncture that their affinities and differences are most important and interesting. Murray does us a service in initiating a dialogue between such men as Teilhard and Polanyi. Bultmannians *et al.* attend!

Teilhard and the Supernatural (Baltimore: Helicon, 1966) is Eulalio R. Baltazar's contribution to the growing literature inspired by Teilhard. This commentator found his ambition admirable, his execution a bit less, and his "style" of thought and expression distressing. There is no doubt that we do not have a semantic in which to express the gratuity of God's definitive presence in an evolving universe. Baltazar tries to develop such a semantic in terms of a metaphysics of process (the metaphysics proper to a "3-D universe," as distinguished from the pre-evolutionary "2-D universe"). By giving primacy to God's absolute offer of himself the author tries to maintain that the Cosmic Christ is the sole finality of the evolving universe. In this perspective (and in that of Genesis as well) creation is itself a "covenantal" act that establishes the finite creature on its way to union with God himself. Baltazar marks his position off from that of the "moderate intrinsicists" ("moderate extrinsicists"?) such as Karl Rahner, but it is interesting that he compares his view with that of Rahner's earlier discussions of grace. The Rahner who wrote "Christology Within an Evolutionary View of the World" would have provided a more challenging counter-position for Baltazar and it would have forced him to clarify further the issues at stake. What Baltazar does achieve is worth his effort: there is hope that in stressing the primacy of creation in and toward Christ, the entire "language game" of the nature-grace problem will be transformed without any loss of the traditional values.

Additional studies in English and French

Paul Chauchard, a French neurophysiologist and convert to Catholicism, has written a fascinating study of Teilhard's phenomenology from the point of view of one who is sympathetic to Teilhard, aware of the Catholic philosophical and theological tradition as represented by Thomistic thought, and, finally, who considers his own science to be a kind of "proving-ground" for some of Teilhard's basic intuitions regarding the relation of physical to psychic energy. The first several chapters of his *Man and Cosmos: Scientific Phenomenology in Teilhard de Chardin* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965) offer a distinctive contribution to the scientific assessment of Teilhard. A briefer volume of Chauchard's, *Teilhard de Chardin on Love and Suffering* (Glen Rock: Paulist-Deus, 1966) comprises two essays that, while short, make clear that Teilhard is drawing on much more than a "biology" of consciousness when he confronts the twin mysteries of man: his power to suffer and his power to love.

George B. Barbour has contributed the viewpoint of a Presbyterian coworker in his *In the Field with Teilhard de Chardin* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965). A geologist who worked in close association with Teilhard in China and who was in contact with him in South Africa and the United States, Barbour highlights the Jesuit's aspect as a man of research.

The text of the colloquium held in Venice sponsored by *Pax Romana* has been edited by Claude Cuénot in *Teilhard de Chardin et la pensée catholique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965). The discussion ranged from the problem in methodology in Teilhard to his notion of Christogenesis. The roster of participants is a litany of European Teilhard scholars: Cuénot, Wildiers, Chauchard, Grenet, Leroy, de Lubac, Barthélemy-Madaule, Russell, Smulders—to name the best known in this country. The discussion is warm and the disagreement sometimes sharp, yet all the participants share the same admiration and respect for Teilhard's project and intention.

Jeanne Mortier, who knew Teilhard very well and was greatly responsible for Teilhard's thought becoming public, has brought out a book of her own, *Avec Teilhard de Chardin: "Vues ardentes"* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1967). Besides offering reflections on Teilhard's thought she provides an appendix containing hitherto unpublished material on original sin, the evolution of chastity, and Christ as the agent of evolution.

La Pensée du Père Teilhard de Chardin (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965) is a nearly six hundred page treatment of all of Teilhard's thought. The author, Émile Rideau, S.J., has attempted (and with great success) to discuss in a systematic way all the dimensions of Teilhard's world: influences, the intuition and its project, the phenomenology of history, cosmology, anthropology, theology and spirituality. An appendix on Teilhard's vocabulary and modes of expression concludes the work. (A recent Blackwell's catalog announced the translation of Rideau's study under the title, *A Guide to the Thought of Teilhard de Chardin.*) No analysis of Teilhard's thought-world can match Rideau's in comprehensiveness.

We have not tried to be exhaustive in our listing of studies of Teilhard since 1965. We have completely omitted the periodical literature and have omitted books which a more thorough treatment would have discussed. The assessments are subjective and consciously so, but it is hoped that the interested reader will find some helpful handholds as he begins to ascend the bibliographical mountain that Teilhard de Chardin has bequeathed to us, his brothers.